

Saturday November 2 1996

Table of international exchange rates for various countries including Abu Dhabi, Albania, Andorra, etc.

The Guardian INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

Printed in London, Manchester, Frankfurt and Roubaix

Why the world's richest men are all Asian Gold of the tigers The Week page 13

The Joanna Coles Interview Just call me President The Week page 13

Cricket Gooch throws his hat into the ring The Week page 23

BT launches huge takeover

US company target in £15bn pioneer deal

BRITISH Telecom last night launched the biggest takeover bid in British corporate history when it announced that it was in negotiations with MCI, the American communications giant, in a £15 billion deal.

Shares in MCI, which had earlier raced ahead in frantic trading, were suspended on the New York stock exchange yesterday afternoon after MCI — the second biggest long distance carrier in America — confirmed it was in talks with BT. Trading in BT shares, which closed down 4p at 351 1/2p, had closed before rumours of the takeover broke.

BT through a satellite link. BT, which snapped up a 20 per cent stake in MCI for \$4.3 billion in June 1993, admitted last night that it was considering a "strategic merger" with the American group.

But analysts suggested last night that the British market, which is regarded as the second most open in the world, would comply with FCC requirements. BT and MCI already own Concert, a \$3.5 billion joint venture signed in 1993, which took just over a year to win clearance from American authorities.

Top ten takeovers table with columns for company name and value of deal in \$ billions.

The real thing... mysterious threats scuppered Puttnam plans for biopic of Irish leader



Job seekers face criminal checks

EVERY job applicant in Britain will have to provide proof of a "clean" criminal record under powers unveiled by the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, yesterday.

How troubles with Coke and army killed Collins film

WHAT do Coca-Cola, the British Army and Cadbury Schweppes have to do with Michael Collins? Ten years after a biopic of the Irish republican leader

version, Michael Collins. In 1986 Sir David, who originally commissioned the script from Mr Jordan, took over as head of Columbia Pictures in Hollywood. He embarked on a script entitled Mick, written by Rogan Kasper, to be directed by Michael Cimino, who made The Deer Hunter. The film had got as far as screen tests.

that I was looking at this film and strange words started coming back," said Sir David yesterday. "It culminated in me having a meeting with Francis Vincent." Mr Vincent was at the time chairman of Columbia Pictures and president of Coca-Cola's entertainment business sector.

Hand of Hoddle keeps Gazza in England squad despite protests from women's groups

FOR years Paul Gascoigne's talents on the football field have allowed him to shrug off the image of foul-mouthed boozier and ill-disciplined clown prone to wild binges. But few have been prepared to forgive and forget the recent allegations that he beat up his wife in a Scottish hotel last month — except born-

again Christian and England manager Glen Hoddle. Hoddle's decision to include Gascoigne in the England squad for their next World Cup qualifying game in Georgia has outraged women's groups.

for the Georgia game on merit," he said. "At no time have I — or would I — condone what Paul has done. I expect high standards. I also accept that people are human."



Can the new 125 bhp Audi A3 outspurt an angry rhino?

Navigation bar with sections: Inside Britain, World News, Finance, Sport, Comment and Letters 8, TV and Radio 2, Weather 2, The Week, Crossword 24, Sport 20-24, Arts 18-19. Includes a barcode and the number 23.

Woman with history of depression planned to blame colleagues after tampering with patient's ventilator

Nurse in sabotage plot jailed



Amanda Jenkinson... falsified her own medical records to hide psychiatric illness

Maggie O'Keefe

AN INTENSIVE care nurse was jailed for five years yesterday for interfering with the ventilator of a 67-year-old woman patient in the hope of blaming her colleagues and increasing her chances of promotion.

Amanda Jenkinson, aged 37, was found guilty of tampering with the ventilator of a patient at Bassetlaw hospital, Worksop, Nottinghamshire. The patient died three days later, although the court accepted that her death was not the result of the tampering incident. Jenkinson was also cleared of attempting to cause grievous bodily harm to two other female patients.

It emerged yesterday that Jenkinson had altered her own medical records to conceal a history of depression after an abortion 15 years ago. She was described by witnesses as a difficult and truculent woman who believed promotion was being unfairly denied to her.

Last night North Nottinghamshire Health Authority commissioned an inquiry into the running of the hospital. The management of the hospital said a new investigation would create undue stress for staff.

After the trial, police revealed that Ms Jenkinson was suffering from a psychiatric condition following an abortion in 1983. She was sacked from Bassetlaw in 1985 after falsifying her medical records and two other suspicious incidents involving two patients.

Mr Justice Owen told Jenkinson yesterday: "All nurses will be horrified... You did what you did for your own selfish purposes and you caused great harm to a woman who unhappily was going to die, but nevertheless you caused her that harm."

During the four-week trial, the court was told how Jenkinson had altered a ventilator attached to Kathleen Temple at the intensive therapy unit.

Mrs Temple was admitted to hospital in a serious condition, suffering chronically obstructed airways. She was put on a ventilator and seemed to be making good progress.

The investigation dated back to cases in 1982 and covered Nottingham City Hospital, Royal Southmead Hospital, Bristol; John Radcliffe, Oxford; St George's Hospital, south London; the Central Middlesex, west London; and the Northern General, Sheffield. Ms Jenkinson had worked at all of them.

In May, Jenkinson appeared before magistrates charged with the murder of a 50-year-old patient, Winifred Cashman. The charges were later dropped to be replaced by the ones she faced this week.

Rona Jones, a nurse at Bassetlaw, said of Jenkinson in court: "She would deal with patients on her own rather than ask for help. I just used to take her the way I found her. She seemed to be very confident in her work, very exacting."

Peter Joyce QC, prosecuting, told the court: "She was never slow to criticise other nursing staff who she felt stood in her way. The result [was] that both colleagues and patients were treated with contempt that they did not deserve as she secretly tried to stage-manage events."

But late one night Jenkinson switched the breathing control on the ventilator from a high rate to a low rate, leaving her with only 0.8 assisted breaths every minute for eight hours. She died three days later.

Jenkinson claimed she was not on the four-bed ward at the time and could not have altered the machine.

But the jury agreed with the prosecution case that Jenkinson, who had started at the hospital in March 1980, saw herself as better than her

colleagues and determined to gain promotion from her grade D rank.

The inquiry developed into one of the largest investigations in the health service. Hospital managers called in police in February 1984, one month after suspending Jenkinson. By November that year detectives revealed they were making inquiries at eight other hospitals in the north of England and were examining 57 other unusual incidents at those hospitals.

Several hundred medical staff, patients and their relatives were interviewed.

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Job seekers to face a crime check on record

the Liberal Democrats forcing through a complete ban with the support of some rebel Tories suffered a setback yesterday when the Ulster Unionists made clear they would not back a 100 per cent prohibition. The arithmetic however remains tight, as it appears likely that the nine Official Unionists will abstain on the key vote.

John Taylor, Ulster Unionist deputy leader, said: "We do not believe that it's necessary to abolish all handguns as some people are suggesting. We think that's a rather emotional reaction to the tragedy of Dromahaire."

But the Tory MP Robert Hughes, who is campaigning for the prohibition of all handguns, said he would table an amendment to the Bill at a later stage seeking such a ban. He was backed by the Snowdrop petition organiser, Ann Pearson, who greeted the Government's proposed 80 per cent handgun ban by urging the public not to vote on the measure.

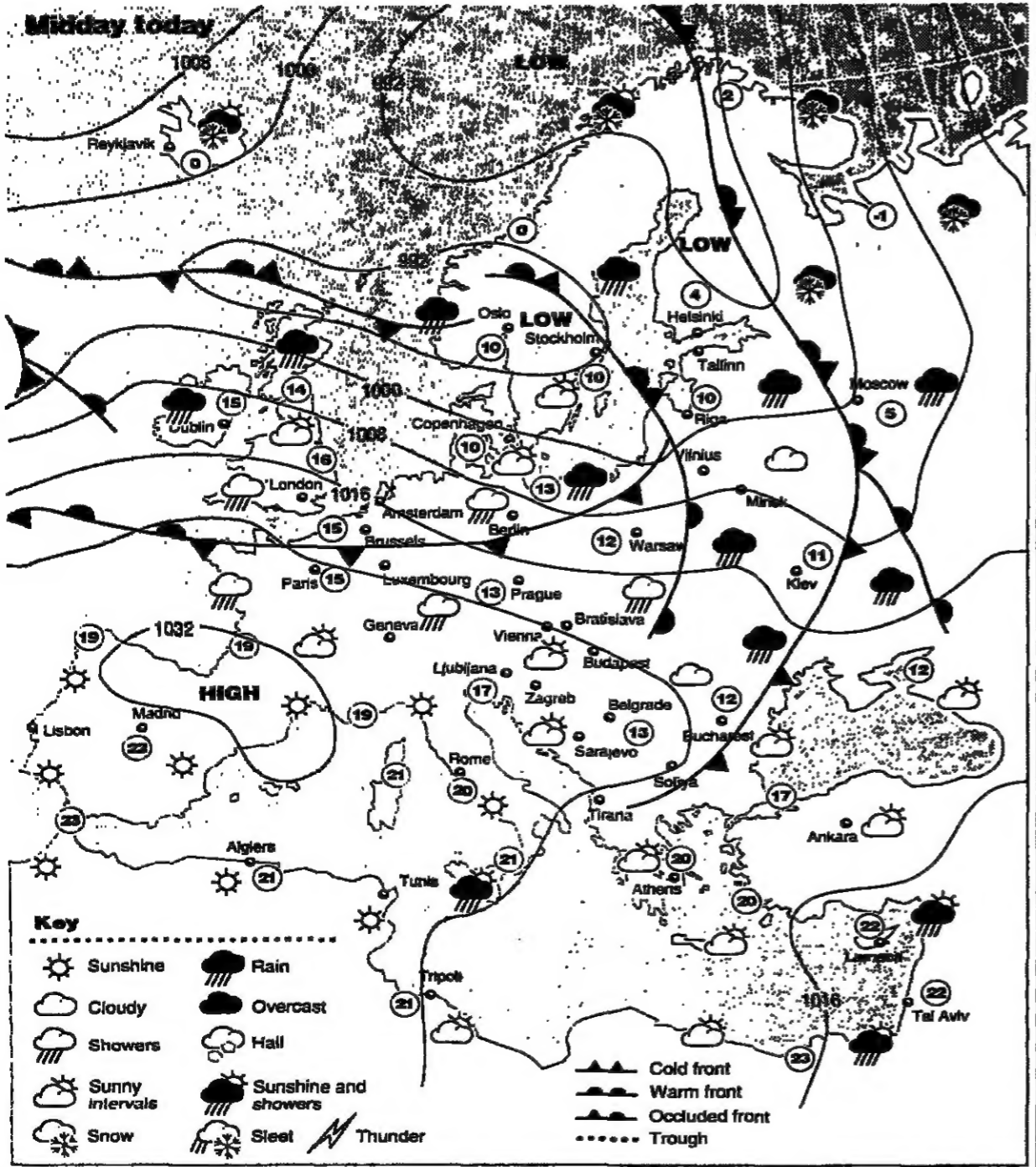
Mr Howard's problems were compounded by John Carlisle, the Conservative MP for Luton North, who claimed the support of 50 other Tories who opposed any ban on handguns and predicted that the gun control bill would face a "tortuous time" in Parliament.

The Firearms (Amendment) Bill published by Mr Howard yesterday doubles the expected available compensation to up to £50 million giving gun owners the market value of their weapons on the day last month he announced the ban in the Commons.

The British Shooting Sports Council said this would provide inadequate and predicted that the final compensation bill would be nearer £170 million for the guns without any payments being made for ammunition.

The chances of Labour and

The weather in Europe



Television and radio — Saturday

BBC 1

8.00am The Pink Panther Show, 8.25 News at 8, 9.00am The Morning Show, 9.30am The News, 10.00am The News, 10.30am The News, 11.00am The News, 11.30am The News, 12.00pm The News, 1.00pm The News, 1.30pm The News, 2.00pm The News, 2.30pm The News, 3.00pm The News, 3.30pm The News, 4.00pm The News, 4.30pm The News, 5.00pm The News, 5.30pm The News, 6.00pm The News, 6.30pm The News, 7.00pm The News, 7.30pm The News, 8.00pm The News, 8.30pm The News, 9.00pm The News, 9.30pm The News, 10.00pm The News, 10.30pm The News, 11.00pm The News, 11.30pm The News, 12.00am The News.

BBC 2

8.00am The Big Breakfast, 8.30am The Big Breakfast, 9.00am The Big Breakfast, 9.30am The Big Breakfast, 10.00am The Big Breakfast, 10.30am The Big Breakfast, 11.00am The Big Breakfast, 11.30am The Big Breakfast, 12.00pm The Big Breakfast, 1.00pm The Big Breakfast, 1.30pm The Big Breakfast, 2.00pm The Big Breakfast, 2.30pm The Big Breakfast, 3.00pm The Big Breakfast, 3.30pm The Big Breakfast, 4.00pm The Big Breakfast, 4.30pm The Big Breakfast, 5.00pm The Big Breakfast, 5.30pm The Big Breakfast, 6.00pm The Big Breakfast, 6.30pm The Big Breakfast, 7.00pm The Big Breakfast, 7.30pm The Big Breakfast, 8.00pm The Big Breakfast, 8.30pm The Big Breakfast, 9.00pm The Big Breakfast, 9.30pm The Big Breakfast, 10.00pm The Big Breakfast, 10.30pm The Big Breakfast, 11.00pm The Big Breakfast, 11.30pm The Big Breakfast, 12.00am The Big Breakfast.

BBC World

8.00am World News, 8.30am World News, 9.00am World News, 9.30am World News, 10.00am World News, 10.30am World News, 11.00am World News, 11.30am World News, 12.00am World News.

ITV

8.00am News at 8, 8.30am News at 8.30, 9.00am News at 9, 9.30am News at 9.30, 10.00am News at 10, 10.30am News at 10.30, 11.00am News at 11, 11.30am News at 11.30, 12.00am News at 12.

Channel 4

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Radio

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Television and radio — Sunday

BBC 1

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ITV

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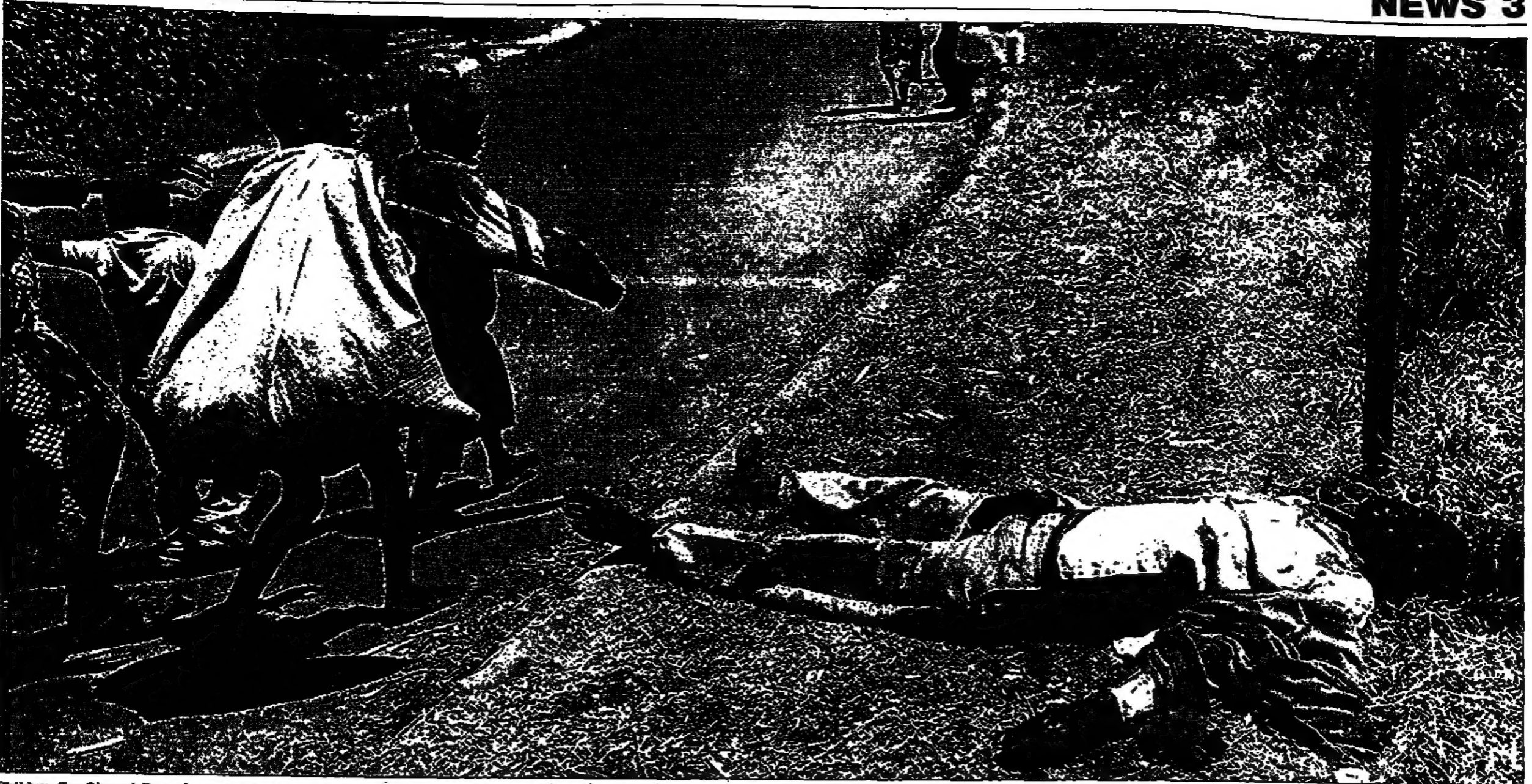
Channel 4

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Radio

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Children see Gisenyi, Rwanda, past a victim of fighting between local troops and those of Zaire, whose prime minister, Léon Kengo Wa Dondo (below) demanded the return of towns captured by Tutsi rebels

PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEXANDER JOE

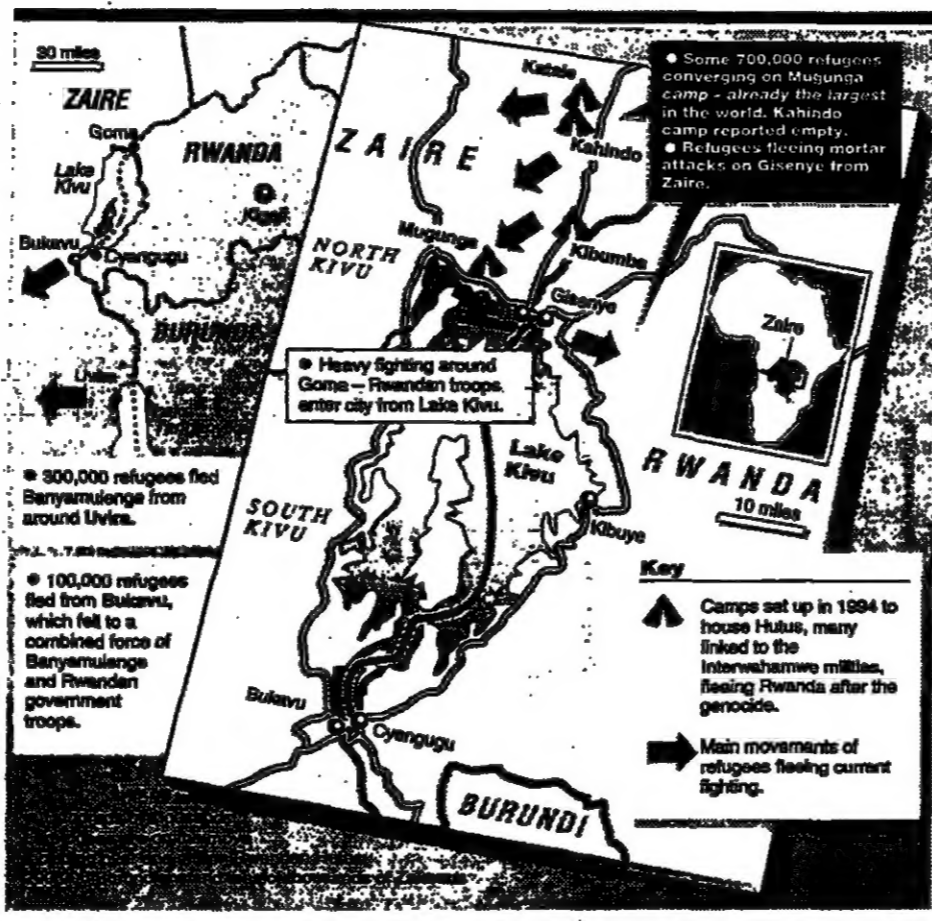
Ghosts of Africa walk to oblivion

Witchhunts spread to capital as Rwandan troops pour over border

Chris McGreal in Uvira, Richard Neville-Taylor and Victoria Brittain

RWANDAN government troops in uniform last night entered the eastern Zairean town of Goma, dramatically escalating the political crisis in the region where more than 1 million refugees are on the move. Sadako Ogata, the head of the United Nations refugee agency, fears a disaster greater than that of 1994, when about 50,000 newly-arrived Rwandan refugees died of epidemics in shivering, overcrowded camps in eastern Zaire.

Kinshasa, yesterday with a witchhunt against prominent Tutsis in the business community. Dozens fled to neighbouring Congo. A mob of several hundred demonstrators attacked and looted Tutsi-owned property in the capital, stealing dozens of cars, according to a Reuters television cameraman, Marc Hoogsteyns. "I saw them smash the windows of two shops said to be owned by Tutsis in central Kinshasa and loot a beer truck," he said. "They were driving around in dozens of stolen cars."



Zairean troops looted it before the Rwandan army arrived by boat over the lake and heavy fighting erupted. Further south, the Zairean army was finally routed in the town of Bukavu. Heavily armed uniformed Tutsi rebels took control and civilians began to trickle back yesterday, according to a Reuters journalist, Corinne Dufka, who had been trapped inside the town for two days. They were well-disciplined, well-organised and set up checkpoints throughout the town, she reported. Rebel commanders said they are Zairean and speak a variety of languages including Swahili, Lingala, French and English.

Ms Dufka's account contradicted the claim by Zaire's prime minister, Léon Kengo Wa Dondo, that Bukavu was back under government control. He also claimed control of nearby Uvira. Yesterday in Uvira, the scene of an early success by the Tutsi rebels, the leader of the rebellion, Laurent Kabila, claimed the war was a battle for the soul of all Zaire. Mr Kabila, wearing a safari suit, sat in his rebel headquarters, the front room of which passes for a grand house in Uvira — one of the first towns he seized after launching his offensive two weeks ago.

"Our objectives are clear," he said. "We are fighting for a vast movement to put an end to this useless state that no longer exists. There is no power at the top. We want to overthrow the irresponsible clique of people in power to put in place a transitional government which would eventually organise democratic elections."

At his headquarters, Mr Kabila introduced other rebel leaders, including one with a cellular phone hooked up to neighbouring Burundi. France has added its voice to those accusing Rwanda of backing the rebellion, but Mr Kabila denies receiving any foreign assistance. There are hints otherwise. Some of his troops wear the Rwandan army's familiar Wellington boots, rarely seen among other soldiers in the region.

In contrast with the disciplined force reported to have taken Bukavu, the rebel soldiers hanging about the streets of Uvira were not impressive. Young boys mingled with an old man in a blue raincoat, a gun in his hand. There was the usual guerrilla mismatch of uniforms.

With the pendulum of military control appearing to swing in favour of the various groups of rebels and their allies, confusion and panic among the refugees mounted. "At one point yesterday we had refugees on the road walking in both directions," said Panos Moutzilis, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Goma. "They are really panicking. They are very scared. They do not know where to go."

Friday, November 1st: A day of disaster in central Africa

- Rwandan gov't troops invade Goma from the lake. Heavy fighting follows.
- Aid workers hide in their homes for a second day as Zairean troops loot Goma.
- 700,000 refugees flee to Mugunga camp — the world's largest.
- Rwandans flee from border as Gisenye is hit by mortars from Zaire.
- Witchhunt against Tutsis in Zairean capital Kinshasa. Many flee to Congo.
- 100 foreigners, mostly missionaries, shelter from looting Zairean troops in Bukavu cathedral. Banyamulenge rebels take control of town.
- Zaire assembly votes to break relations with Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and expel all Tutsis.
- UN calls for regional summit. Rwanda and Zaire refuse.



A UNHCR spokeswoman, Ruth Marshall, reported continuing attacks by Tutsis on refugee camps in eastern Zaire, provoking panic in terrible conditions. "People are sleeping around in shit — it is heading towards catastrophe," she said. More than 100,000 refugees and local Zairean residents were making their way south from Kahindo to Mugunga camp. The camp is out of the control of the international agencies. Bodies are regularly found; guns and grenades can be bought with ease; and the majority of refugees are kept in a state of fear by the killers to prevent them returning to Rwanda. Nearly 200,000 refugees were yesterday making their way to Mugunga after their camp at Kibumba had been attacked and burnt by Banyamulenge forces. Ian Bray, Oxfam's spokesman, described the situation as "basically mayhem". Thousands of refugees were moving west into Zaire but aid workers were unable to keep track of them. Some were moving north towards Goma, others who had been attacked by Tutsis were moving south of Uvira towards the Fizi Plain. But, Mr Bray added, "no one really knows where people are going". Oxfam issued a statement saying the Geneva Convention on behaviour in war was being torn up in Zaire and told the international community that central Africa was heading for a "firestorm of instability". Oxfam said that if the root causes of the conflict in central Africa are not addressed, humanitarian crises on the present scale would be a regular occurrence. It accused politicians of "failing to do their job" and of using the huge humanitarian effort in the area triggered by the previous Rwandan crisis as a substitute for political action. EU ministers have been invited to meet in Brussels next Thursday to discuss emergency humanitarian support for the refugees caught in the fighting in eastern Zaire, the current holder of the EU presidency, Ireland, said yesterday.



... and land spectacularly on the other side?



Kamal Ahmed on a museum which will house an archive giving a unique insight into the care of the mentally ill in England



Deceit and Duplicitly, by Richard Dadd (above left) and Raving Madness, one of two sculptures on gate posts outside Bethlem's 17th century site

Lottery opens up 750 years of Bedlam

IT HAS been home to potential assassins of the monarch, one of Samuel Pepys's closest friends and some of the most tortured brains in history. It also has some pretty good art work.

The Royal Bethlem Hospital, better known as Bedlam, is planning to open the doors of its 750-year-old archive, allowing a unique insight into the history of mental health in Britain.

The Bethlem Museum, at present a small room at the hospital in Beckenham, south London, which can only be seen by appointment, has unveiled ambitious plans for a £1 million building. The

scheme, which has received planning permission from the local council, will go before the Heritage Lottery Fund before the end of the year.

Items owned by the hospital include works of art by Richard Dadd, the Victorian artist who murdered his father; writings, poems and pictures detailing the lives of patients in the hospital, and a foundation stone thought to be from the original Bethlem hospital in Bishopsgate, built in 1247.

One of the largest exhibits will be the two stone sculptures, Raving Madness and Melancholy Madness, by Caius Cibber, which once stood on the gate posts at the hospital's 17th century home at Moorfields, half a mile from the original hospital.

There will also be examples of strait-jackets and iron manacles used at the hospital, as well as a reconstruction of a 19th century ward.

"This is a unique archive tracing the history of the hospital and attitudes to mental health," said Patricia Aldridge, curator of the archive. "There are many myths about Bethlem, that people were just dumped here, chained up and never allowed to leave."

"Although it is true that Bethlem has had its ups and downs, there were genuine attempts to cure people."

Dadd, who suffered from a persecution complex, did

some of his best work while he was a patient at the hospital and later at Broadmoor, which opened in the second half of the 19th century.

His paintings in the collection include Sketch to Illustrate the Passions, which caricatured Turner, a Wayside Inn and a portrait of Sir Thomas Phillips, Dadd's patron who first noticed signs of mental illness.

Dadd became convinced that the Devil, disguised as an acquaintance, was going to kill him. Before he was sent to Bethlem he murdered his father and attacked a number of people while travelling in France.

Other patients' work includes that of Jonathan Martin, brother of the artist John Martin who tried to burn down York Minster in 1829, including a series of four of his large pen and ink drawings, complete with raging fires and depictions of the son of Napoleon Bonaparte, whom he thought would conquer Britain.

There is also poetry by James Hatfield, who tried to shoot George III at the Drury Lane Theatre, and a picture of Margaret Nicholson, who tried to stab the king and was admitted to Bethlem at George III's request.

"There are so many fascinating stories here," Ms Aldridge said.

Photographs, patient records and treatment techniques are also held by the hospital. Methods included blood letting, bathing in warm water and being "jollied up" by well-meaning nurses.

Bethlem got the name Bedlam after visitors were allowed in to see the patients as a means of raising money. Stories, often barely based on fact, were told about wailing inmates who were kept in dark cells.

William Hogarth's A Rake's Progress of 1735 showed men chained up, insanely scribbling on walls and mumbling with jester's hats on.

In reality the governors of the museum did try to improve the environment in the 18th and 19th centuries by enlarging windows, bringing in domestic furniture and pot plants and even forming a hospital band to soothe patients.

"We want to show how attitudes to mental illness have changed and what is happening today in this field," Ms Aldridge said. "We want people to think much more widely about the whole subject of mental illness."

Bethlem hopes to be the latest in a long line of museums to take advantage of the lottery money which has seen a new lease of life in the industry. The Heritage Lottery Fund has provided more than £200 million for more than 100 projects.

"Most of us have existed on a shoestring for the past decade," said Valerie Bott, deputy director of the Museums and Galleries Commission. "Many of these projects would never have gone ahead if there wasn't lottery money around."

More unusual awards include funding for the West Runton elephant excavation in Norfolk, one of Britain's most complete fossilised remains, and the Cawthorne Museum in Barnsley, an eclectic mixture of Victoriana which includes among its exhibits a horse's gaitstone.

Formidable case against single currency is vintage Healey

Michael White Political Editor

WHEN Denis Healey let loose his broadside against a European single currency in the House of Lords this week he reminded fellow-politicians that at age 78 the Balliol Bruiser is still one of the cleverest men in the business as well as one of the most boisterous bulls in a very posh china shop.

It was over thus. The man who battled as Labour's shadow Chancellor in the oil crisis of 1974-78 has rarely been able to resist candour — it cost him the party leadership in 1990.

Though he is complaining to the BBC about the way Gordon Brown's comment on his Lords speech was portrayed — prompting him to patronise the shadow chan-

cellor for having no government experience — the incident is vintage Healey.

So too is the award fact that he put up a formidable case: that the case for European economic and monetary union (EMU) is economic, not political, and that Germany's internal EMU, when Helmut Kohl reunited his divided country in 1990, shows how huge the necessary sacrifices are — even for "a single people and a single state under a single leader."

Lord Healey said it had cost West Germany £40 billion — between 3 and 4 per cent of GDP — to make unification work, 85 per cent of Germans still felt worse off, 15 per cent of East Germans were still jobless and many were flocking west. The Bundesbank had opposed a single German currency and had been right.

He might have added that the cost included breaking up the exchange rate mechanism (ERM) in 1992 and ruining Norman Lamont's career. It is a worst-case scenario for what would happen if Chancellor Kohl — the classic "old man in a hurry" — pushed France into a single currency before Europe is ready.

Europe's disparities were just as great as Germany's in 1990, and Mr Kohl had made plain that Germany will not foot the bill, said Lord Healey. Already the pressure of the Maastricht criteria — low inflation, low borrowing, stable interest rates — had inflicted what the Financial Times last week called "a dismal level of economic performance" on Paris and Bonn.

To meet the criteria, all but tiny states like Luxembourg and Ireland will have to "fiddle the figures".

From the standpoint of the

Tory Euro-sceptic press, all this amounts to a double whammy: an "anti-Europe" as well as a "Labour split" story. Gordon Brown could probably have done without it, though he was said to be "pretty relaxed" about it. Tony Blair and Robin Cook have no problem.

The shadow cabinet's position, on which all three broadly agreed, is to see Europe as an opportunity, whereas John Major, his sceptics at his heels, prefers to present it as a threat. That is the rhetoric. The reality is that both front benches are adopting a wait-and-see approach to the single currency timetable. Yes, if it works, No if it doesn't.

Mr Brown stresses the advantages of a stable currency regime and (in theory) lower interest rates. Mr Cook warns against narrow financial criteria which will be deflationary. Mr Blair leans both ways.

Like Lord Healey this week, all three stress the importance of job creation in a Europe of 20 million unemployed — though John Major says the social chapter is exactly the wrong way to start.

What Lord Healey, a German-speaker with excellent German contacts, did was to point out that many significant EU players now "fear disaster" if Mr Kohl insists on the 1999 timetable — that it will "divide Europe, not unite it". Public opinion, except in Holland, had turned against it, by 65 per cent in Germany.

What Lord Healey and pro-single currency advocates, like Ken Clarke, agree on is that in or out, Britain has a vital interest because a "disaster" would hurt both us and ours.



Lord Healey... If Kohl insists on 1999 timetable 'it will divide Europe, not unite it'

EC denies British taxpayers may finance foreign pensions

John Palmer in Brussels

THE European Commission yesterday dismissed suggestions that British taxpayers might have to pay for other EU countries' pension payments, if Britain joins the single European currency.

British media reports of warnings by the House of Commons social security committee about "unfounded" pension schemes in other EU countries were seen in Brussels as yet another example of the propaganda war being waged by Eurosceptics against monetary union.

The commission yesterday accepted that, because of the growing number of elderly people, problems could arise in EU countries into the next century if the existing system of financing pensions is not altered. But commission officials point out the Maastricht treaty explicitly rules out any liability falling on taxpayers of one country for the pension liabilities of another.

"Even a cursory reading of the Maastricht treaty shows there is an unambiguous 'no bail out' clause. This means

Major threatens retaliation for expected EU court ruling

Michael White Political Editor

JOHN Major declared yesterday his government is poised to veto forthcoming changes in the structure of the European Union in retaliation for the expected EU court ruling against Britain next weekend in the battle over the 48-hour working week.

The move came as Labour attacked the so-called "beef war", which chief whip Donald Dewar yesterday dubbed "a great political disaster" which has left farmers and consumers in the lurch.

Weak leadership and poor negotiating skills had left the EU's Florence agreement unimplemented by Britain and her 14 partners unwilling to bend, Labour declared behind its new slogan "Enough is Enough". The battle over working hours promises more of the same, Tony Blair predicts.

Though open to charges of crude electioneering on the largely symbolic issue, senior ministers and officials are adamant the EU's working time

Referendum Party linked with Euro neo-Nazi groups

John Palmer in Brussels and Michael White

THE European wing of Sir James Goldsmith's Referendum Party is engaged in urgent talks with anti-federalist MEPs in Strasbourg to prevent their Europe of Nations alliance losing official status following a defection to the French Gaullists.

Though the Anglo-French financier insists his supporters "have no intention of associating with any extremist group", their alliance with other Eurosceptic groups has been thrown into turmoil by internal disputes over whether to forge links with neo-fascists.

Goldsmith allies admit that one member of their group "held an unauthorised meeting" with a representative of Jorg Haider's neo-Nazi Austrian Freedom Party. But they insist that the current crisis involves them in exploratory talks only with political democrats.

The Europe of the Nations (EDN) faction in Strasbourg, which united the Referendum party with Sir James' French

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Bill's brave new world

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On the campaign trail with the candidates

Bill's brave new world

Martin Walker in Oakland, California

THE clanging of trolley bells insist above the thumping rock music. Bill Clinton strode to address the people of Oakland under a huge cardboard model of the Golden Gate bridge, inviting the packed audience to follow him across it to the future.

Like ancient kings' healing touch, the campaign stresses intimate moments

That morning, in Phoenix, Arizona, he had walked to the podium from the state university building across a swooping arc of stone bedecked with a huge sign: "Building a bridge to the 21st century." "You'll be working at jobs that haven't even been invented yet, haven't even been imagined", he told them.

stant question. "Will you help me build it so that we can all walk across it together?" In Jack London square in Oakland a crowd of more than 10,000 roared that they would. Some wore witches' hats, some wore fright masks for Halloween — even the ultimate terrifier of a Bob Dole mask — and 20 disabled people did a formation parade in motorised wheelchairs sporting Clinton-Gore posters. They all yelled back: "Build the bridge, build the bridge."

The largely black city of Oakland, and the adjoining university community of Berkeley, make up one of the most liberal constituencies in the country. Mr Clinton had critics from the left demonstrating against his new welfare bill, and gay activists accusing him of "murder by neglect". But they were lost in the throng of supporters.

Only the specialised news and cable channels now bother to film the speech.

The rest of the cameras wait for the president to plunge into the crowd. They follow him when he hugs a bald child undergoing radiation treatment, when he clasps the hands of an elderly woman who thanks him for funding breast cancer research, when he gives a friendly punch to the shoulder of a young black man who says he has given up drugs and is going back to school and when he rears in mock fright from a Halloween mask.

"He touched me, he touched me," shrieks a small black girl.

Like the healing ritual of the king's touch performed by medieval monarchs, Mr Clinton's campaign stops emphasise these moments of presidential intimacy. Amid the rhetoric of the future, this echo of an ancient tradition is a strange anachronism.

The five US television networks have refused pleas not to broadcast victory forecasts of Tuesday's election, thus risking a drop in voting in the west, writes Christopher Reed in Los Angeles.

The three-hour time difference between the two coasts enables pollsters to quiz voters in the east leaving the polls up to their 8pm closure to predict a winner at 5pm in eight western states.

When television forecasters said Ronald Reagan had beaten Jimmy Carter in 1980, voting in the west slumped by up to half.



Bob Dole discusses his 96-hour campaign trip with the press corps — some wearing Clinton masks — during a Halloween party aboard his plane late on Thursday

Desperate Dole takes the DIY psycho trail

Jonathan Freedland in Columbus, Ohio

THIS is fast becoming the psycho campaign. A hint of manic danger hovers above Bob Dole's chase for the White House, a kind of devil-may-care recklessness suggesting the candidate could at any moment do something really mad.

The slide to insanity began in earnest yesterday with the launching of the 96-hour "victory" non-stop campaign through at least 15 states that will continue until "high noon" on election day.

Today alone Mr Dole will visit eight states, starting with a 4.30am meeting in

New Jersey. If he has trouble filling halls at 8pm, how is he going to excite people in the middle of a freezing night in Newark?

It seems that the whole scheme, which has the candidate visiting truck stops and all-night diners, forgoing hotels, showers and a bed, was dreamt up on a whim by the candidate, for Mr Dole is serving as his own campaign manager, his assistants reduced to bewildered functionaries. He did that in his failed 1988 attempt for the Republican nomination, when, like a wild-eyed hijacker, he sat at the front of the plane, pointing at a map, saying "Land there."

We are not far from that point in 1996. The timetable changes every hour as he tries to find at least one place where he can make a difference. He will try in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, South Dakota and Colorado — all before tonight is out. In the small hours tomorrow he will pitch up in Las Vegas to "roll the dice, one more time".

humour abounds. A technician in the plane sketched out the "victory tour" route on a map on his computer screen: the dots joined up to form the word Loser.

Two former Republican presidents, Gerald Ford and George Bush, joined him before an early-morning crowd at the Capital University in Columbus yesterday. Mr Ford nearly confirmed his reputation as a master humbler by urging people to vote for Mr Bush, but he recovered.

At the end, the trio took a bow while the public-address system blasted the theme from Les Mis, the one about "singing the songs of angry men". Messrs Ford, Bush and Dole looked pretty angry — the world's highest office has been abducted by a young, draft-dodging Democratic upstart. But another fact lurked: both Mr Bush and Mr Ford lost.

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Scandals threaten grand plans

Education leads next term agenda



Martin Walker

THE main strategy for Bill Clinton's second presidential term is already fixed. He will tackle education hard, and adopt a more cautious approach to reforming entitlements — the ever more costly pensions and health subsidies for the elderly.

But the tactics depend entirely on the political composition of the House of Representatives and the Senate after the election. Mr Clinton will have to restrain a Democratic majority from hauling him back to the party's "big government" traditions. A Republican majority will have him replaying his role of the past two years, defending entitlements from harsh cuts.

Mr Clinton hopes to enact his own quick-fix reform of Medicare, the health scheme

for the elderly, which will fend off the bankruptcy of its trust fund for another 10 years, without the root and branch reform the Republicans propose.

"If we can work with the next Congress to get a balanced budget deal by the year 2002, which does secure the Medicare trust fund for a decade, then that's a confidence-building exercise we can get to the longer-term challenges on entitlements," Laura Tyson, the head of the National Economic Council at the White House, told the Guardian this week. "We have time to do this in a bipartisan way."

On the reform of the national pension system, he plans to delay serious action by appointing a bipartisan presidential commission — which could include a defeated Bob Dole — to formulate proposals that both parties can agree on. This suggests a creeping privatisation of the system, allowing Wall Street access to the biggest piggy bank on the planet. A recession is expected.

The economic recovery has lasted for six years and all precedents suggest it must end. For the sake of Al Gore's presidential campaign in four years' time, the White House would prefer that a mild recession be engineered with higher interest rates soon, giving time for the next recovery to kick in for the Gore campaign.

President Clinton's main domestic project in the next term will be to consolidate the centrist transformation he has wrought within the Democratic Party. This means ensuring Mr Gore's succession and blocking any revival of traditional Democrats in Congress, with their urban base, their debts to the unions and their nostalgia for Roosevelt's New Deal.

The big idea for the second term is to extend the standard period of US education to 14 years, and make two years of college or vocational education the norm for all school-leavers.

"The whole package of education reforms has to happen, so we can make sure we are



High school graduation (above) is the norm for US students now, but Clinton aims to extend the standard with two years of college or vocational training

not turning into an old-fashioned European class system, where the children of people at the bottom stay at the bottom." Elaine Kamarck, a senior White House policy adviser, said. "We need to maintain what is the great strength of America — the class mobility."

There is a sad acceptance among many at the White House that the president's campaign in his first term to extend global free trade agreements has intensified the pressure of low-wage competition on the unskilled and those least equipped to withstand it.

The college loan process is one of the few levers a president has in education policy. Only 7 per cent of the overall \$900 billion annual education budget is controlled by the federal government. The rest is run by the states and local school boards, notoriously jealous of their turf.

Mr Clinton has not decided whether to repeat on a national scale his big education reform in Arkansas, when he and his wife took on the powerful unions to require teachers to pass regular proficiency tests. This may be one of the few ways the federal government can

directly tackle the crisis of the school system.

On foreign policy, the main initiative will be to expand Nato, while hoping from the margins to manage both Russia's fragility and China's ascendancy, with limited faith in the US ability to influence either.

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'Nixon factor' haunts Clintons

Martin Walker

THE third-party candidate, Ross Perot, this week put into words what must be haunting the Clinton campaign: the prospect that American voters may relive the grim experience of a re-elected but scandal-plagued president being humiliated from office.

"Is it responsible and in the best interests of our country to elect a president who has the next two years of his life facing Watergate-2?", Mr Perot asked a campaign audience in Virginia. Bill Clinton had "huge moral, ethical and criminal problems facing him".

In the past week, the Clinton team has darkened its already shady reputation. It has stonewalled a judge's demand to bring a senior fundraiser to court to answer questions about dubious donations from rich Asians. On a technicality, it has refused to comply with the legal regulation to publish lists of donors for the latest reporting period.

Mr Clinton is the first president since Richard Nixon in 1972 to look forward to re-election while scandal swirls around him, his wife and his closest aides. His Whitewater business partners, his assistant attorney-generals and his successor as governor of Arkansas have all been sentenced to prison terms.

The most immediate

threat is the investigation by the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, into the original Whitewater property investment in Arkansas. These inquiries have steadily widened.

Mr Starr is investigating whether there was a White House cover-up of efforts to stall inquiries into Whitewater, and whether they obstructed justice during the police investigation into the apparent suicide of the White House deputy counsel, Vince Foster, a law partner of Mrs Clinton in Little Rock.

He is also studying "Travelgate" — the decision to dismiss the entire White House travel office staff and replace them with a distant cousin of Mr Clinton. Inside the White House, this is viewed with the most alarm, since Hillary Clinton told the first federal investigation that she had nothing to do with the scudings. Other evidence has emerged to suggest she may have been perilously economical with the truth.

Even if formal indictments against the White House inner circle never materialise from the Starr inquiry, Whitewater could remain a war of attrition against the Clintons. If the Republicans retain control of either house of Congress, the congressional committees investigations will start all over again, to nag at the second term as they have bled the first.



Janet and John reviewed by Raymond Briggs

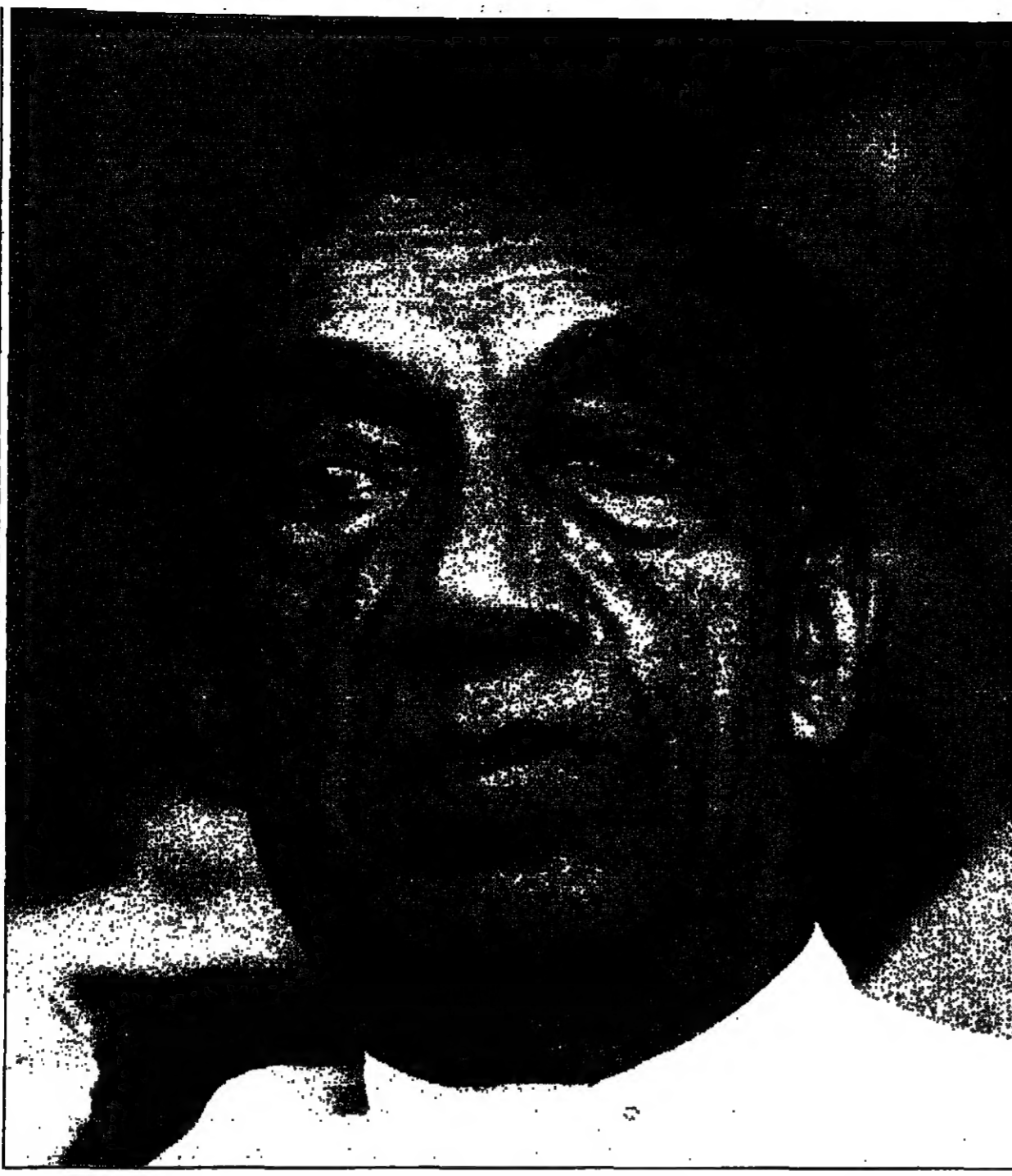
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Junius Richard Jayawardene

Leader who roused a Tiger

JUNIUS Richard Jayawardene, who has died at the age of 80, was prime minister of Sri Lanka from 1977 to 1978, and president from 1978 to 1988. During his term of office the Tamil separatist movement developed from sporadic acts of violence into a full-scale civil war. Yet Jayawardene was a devout Buddhist who was deeply influenced by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, including non-violence. To meet, he was always quietly spoken, anxious to listen, willing to accept mistakes - a man of great charm with a delightful sense of humour. He claimed to be a man of peace, with a genuine respect for democracy, and he was very persuasive. Yet he turned the first country in south Asia to enjoy full adult suffrage into a virtual one-party state, and came to be known as the only solution to the Tamil problem was a military one. I could not and can not believe he was hypocritical, but I never understood how he lived with the differences between his personal beliefs and his public actions. He, was to me, a paradox. Born into the highest echelons of what was then a very stratified society Jaywardene attended the Law School at Colombo University, but chose politics rather than law as a career. Before independence he rose rapidly in the Ceylon National Congress. After independence he joined the United National Party, whose aim was to represent moderate opinion and to bring about a consensus between the three main communities - the Tamils, the Sinhalese Buddhists, and the Christians. When the UNP was defeated for the first time in the 1958 election the leader John Kotelawala lost interest in politics. Jayawardene didn't take over the party leadership but he was responsible for rebuilding the party. During that period tension arose between the majority Sinhalese Buddhist community and the Tamils over language and education policies. Jayawardene organised the opposition to a pact between the prime minister and the Tamils' leader, heading a march to Kandy, capital of the former Sinhalese kings and a city sacred to Buddhists. In this way he signified that he was loyal to the tradition which saw Sri Lanka as the land of the Sinhalese Buddhists and the land where their religion survived in its purest form. The Tamils were never to forget that march and the communal violence which broke out in 1983 as a result of the turmoil created by Jayawardene's opposition to the pact with the Tamils. Many historians believe this was the beginning of the resolute refusal of the Sinhalese to countenance any form of federalism, which has been the stumbling block to any political solution to the Tamil problem. Jayawardene remained the United National Party's chief strategist both in and out of office but he only became the leader in Parliament after the defeat of 1970, when Solomon Bandaranaike's widow became prime minister. He was to defeat her in the next election which did not take place until 1977. Jayawardene came to power with a massive majority. Taking advantage of the damage inflicted on the economy by Mrs Bandaranaike's rigid socialist policies, the international oil price increases, and a fall in the price of tea, Sri Lanka's main commodity export, he devalued the rupee, scrapped controls on foreign investment, and announced that he hoped to turn Sri Lanka into the Singapore of south Asia. Jayawardene also launched grandiose schemes to develop the economy, including the dam in Central Sri Lanka in whose construction Britain played the major role. Unfortunately the new policies revived inflation and meant that Jayawardene had to make unpopular cuts in Sri Lanka's welfare provisions, which were far more generous and effective than those of any other south Asian country. At the same time there was widespread resentment against one of his grandiose schemes, the building of a new city and parliament on the outskirts of Colombo. Naming the city Jayawardapura did not make the project any easier to sell to the electorate. Within three years of his coming to power Jayawardene was to learn, as Indira Gandhi did when she declared a state of emergency, that strong government in south Asia does not mean effective government. The economic revolution ran out of steam and Jayawardene found himself embroiled in the Tamil insurgency which was to lead to his ultimate humiliation. The turning point came on July 23, 1983, when Tamil Tiger separatists killed 13 Sri Lanka soldiers, including one officer, in an ambush. The Sinhalese press was outraged and the next day when the bodies were brought back to Colombo to be cremated Tamil property was attacked. Although Jayawardene could see the flames of the houses the rioters had set on fire from his residence he did not impose curfew for more than 24 hours and even then it was not strictly enforced. It was four days before the president spoke on television and radio, and then he justified the killing of Tamils and the burning and looting of their property by saying it was a natural reaction by the Sri Lankans to attempts to divide their country. That was taken as an encouragement to riot and the violence erupted again on what has come to be known as Black Friday. Whether Jayawardene mismanaged the crisis from the moment he agreed to the bodies being brought back to Colombo or whether he wanted to encourage violence against the Tamils will never be known. All that can be said is when the riots broke out they seemed remarkably organised. Rioters had electoral rolls and identified the houses of Tamils. He had also made the mistake of annoying the imperious Indira Gandhi by depriving her friend Mrs Bandaranaike of her right to function as a politician. Gandhi took the 1983 riots as an excuse to insist on a role in protecting Sri Lanka. India has a large Tamil population too and she was demanding action. At the same time she allowed the Tamil Tigers bases in India and supplied them with some of their arms and equipment. Jayawardene opted for a military solution but never had any chance of success. The ill-disciplined Sri Lankan army was no match for the Tamil Tigers, probably the best organised separatist fighters in the world. Eventually in 1987 Jayawardene, no friend of India, had to accept the humiliation of allowing the Indian army to take charge of the war against the Tamil Tigers. The next year he meekly accepted the limitation of two terms imposed by the constitution he had introduced, retired, and from then on scrupulously avoided any involvement in politics. It was as though the demagogue in him, suppressed during the long years in office, came out on top in the end. He has left a country still fighting the brutal civil war, started while he was in office - a sad legacy for an admirer of Mahatma Gandhi.



Jayawardene... he called out the army and let loose his party stormtroopers

PHOTOGRAPH JOHN HEARDON

William Forrest



William Forrest: coded scoop went begging

Tracking the 20th century

WILLY Forrest, who has died aged 94, was an outstanding journalist of deep integrity. His most perceptive work was done as diplomatic correspondent of the News Chronicle where his appraisals, particularly during the Spanish Civil War, were read at the Foreign Office. His was one of the first voices to warn of the real objectives of the Fascist scourge in the mid-1930s. After the war, Forrest's reading of the Russian mind was so penetrating that from his interpretation of a Pravda leader he provided the News Chronicle in 1953 with a splash anticipating the fall of Lavrenty Beria, the Georgian head of the KGB, the day before Stalin's secret police chief was executed as "an imperialist agent." To have lived through all but a handful of years of the whole of the 20th century is one thing in Forrest's case his career encapsulated all its history. He knew many of the main contenders of the Russian Revolution and during the Spanish Civil War no correspondent was closer to the Republican government of Negrin. The second world war saw him in Poland when war broke out and he watched the first bombs of the conflict fall on Warsaw. He got off through the Balkans after several hazardous encounters. Next with the British Expeditionary Force in Belgium he escaped again at the Fall of France and was then sent to Cairo and attached to the Eighth Army. He was in the battle of El Alamein. During the advance into Tunisia he was severely wounded in a Shukra attack. At the Allied landing in Italy he was with the Royal Navy in an aircraft carrier at Salerno. Withdrawn from the Normandy invasion, Forrest was at the liberation of Paris and in the advance into Germany at the meeting with the Red Army on the Elbe. For his war service he received the OBE. Peace saw him posted to Paris where he covered the Palais Rose talks. Subsequently his assessments were preoccupied with Cold War

Weekend Birthdays

You wish Anna Wintour (47 tomorrow, editor-in-chief of American Vogue) were really Miss Prescott, editor of Quality magazine in that defining fashion film, Funny Face. You remember it - black-guited assistants chorus "Good morning, Miss Prescott" as she sweeps through the office, inspired by Paris, the editors America's women to "Think Pink". Now Anna could do the edit, being the most powerful fashion suprema in the world and an imperial editor who has annihilated pretentious in the corridors of Conde Nast mags in New York and London. Dammit, Anna is a true believer in the appearance of things (starting with her own kit, mostly Chanel and blackly dark glasses). Anna has copied bright Brit seriousness to the business of style. The way she plays life, there are no jokes and no

Today's birthdays: Sir David Calcutt QC, press arbiter, master, Magdalene College, Cambridge, 68; Fred Fairbairn, pop singer, 40; The Rt Rev Philip Goodrich, Bishop of Worcester, chairman of the Children's Society, 67; Marianne Haslegrave, international women's campaigner, 54; Dame Pauline Neville-Jones, former chairman of the Prime Minister's Joint Intelligence Committee, 57; Ken Rosewall, tennis player, 62; Bruce Welch, rock guitarist, 55. Tomorrow's other birthdays: Roseanne Arnold, actress, 44; John Biffen MP, former government minister, 58; Charles Robinson, actor, 74; Violetta Elvin, prima ballerina, 71; Roy Emerson, tennis player, 62; Jean Floud, sociologist, 51; Larry Holmes, boxer, 47; Ludovic Kennedy, writer and broadcaster, 77; Conor Cruise O'Brien, writer and columnist, 78; Albert Reynolds, former Taoiseach, Republic of Ireland, 62; Monica Vitti, actress, 63; Ian Wright, footballer, 33.

lerna. It has embodied his longing for the mother and his sense, otherwise, of isolation. If these things are the case then the secondary place of women is not mere chance, easily to be rectified. The need to escape and overcome woman is of its very essence. The clash between Christian mythology and the values of our present culture becomes irreconcilable. In our age human equality is a basic cultural axiom. Our religion must enable us all to see ourselves as full persons. The social reality upon which Christianity (and Judaism) was built is fast disappearing. How then should we envisage that which is God? I note that my friends, though not recognisably Christians, for the most part have an utter conviction that there is more to reality than meets the eye. Healing takes place, lives are mended, knowledge is available and prayer effective, now as it always was. It may well be that thought forms which notably women are developing will help us here. For women have commonly understood the self as related at the deepest level to that which is more than the self. The very disjuncture between a God understood as self-enclosed, self-sufficient and hierarchically placed above humanity and feminist thought creates the jolt which will allow something new to emerge. Thus it is not false to remain

Face to Faith

Religion should be a women's thing too

DEPHNE HAMPEON

SINCE I published *Theology and Feminism* six years ago the ground has shifted. Women have left Christianity in droves. The church is bracketed by many as irrelevant. The younger generation, in particular, have no use in their lives for past belief systems. Yet how should one just move on? Will not something, ultimately have been lost? There is something of which it would be false to let go - moments one has been aware of, a dimension of reality which, throughout generations, people have been witness to. The problem is the symbol systems we have inherited from a patriarchal and pre-scientific age. We know now that it cannot make sense to think that, at one point in human history, a God separated from all else some way apart from all else "sent" his son. Nature and history are causal nexuses which do not allow unique events (like resurrections).

Nor can the symbol system of Christianity be thought good, calculated to promote human well-being. It has skewed human relationships for generations that God has been seen in the image of one sex and not the other, depicted by male metaphors. Is it not rather that men, the creators of culture, have devised a religion which has promoted and legitimised a certain ordering of the world? Man is seen in God's image. But he takes up the "female" position, casting himself as weak and sinful, in relation to the male God. The people of Israel, or the church, are known by female metaphors. But in his turn man plays god towards women, who in her materiality and sexuality is the opposite to that which is spiritual. Such a gendered and hierarchical conceptual of reality is calculated to perpetuate certain social relations. If Christianity is not true it cannot serve us. It is false, not true, on any count that men have priority over women. Why should it help women to think that a God, conceived of

as male, sent his "son", to reconcile the "sons" to the "father"? Christianity speaks to male dynamics. For women this symbol system has been disastrous. The religion has no place for women as articulate agents, persons in their own right. It does not depict ultimate reality as a relation between a woman and a man, or a male or female principle. Woman is the mother of sons, or the Virgin, or the encompassing church. BUT we are told that God in God's self is a model of self-giving love, the doctrine of the trinity. Why, again, should this help women? The vocabulary used to describe this God has throughout generations been shot through with erotic language which is specifically male. May not women have quite other models for that love which is God; as at peace, centred and still? The complex cultural construction which is western religion has mirrored what is a male reality. It has legitimised male superiority. It has served to resolve male prob-

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It's time to give them all a free vote

Even Mr Howard would gain

HIS HANDS are up, but he's still not thrown away all his guns. Hence he's in trouble with cabinet colleagues, his party and the country. Michael Howard, the personification of populism, is not just personally unpopular but is dragging his party down. So much for his aspirations of leading the Conservatives when Major goes. Yesterday's Mori poll in the Times showed law 'n' order had for the first time become top of the public's list of most important issues — with the Labour lead in public confidence in what was once such a strong vote-winning Tory issue rising dramatically. Last month's Gallup showed Labour a cool nine points ahead of the Conservatives in public confidence in handling crime. Yesterday's Mori showed Labour 25 points (45 to 20 per cent) ahead in tackling violence, banning combat knives and promoting good citizenship. This would have seemed beyond Labour's wildest dreams even a few years ago.

Michael Howard take a bow. Rarely can a politician have lost so much ground. Perhaps, for once, the Conservative commentator William Rees-Mogg was right when he described Howard as "a very political home secretary who is rather bad at politics". Mr Howard's attempts to wrong-foot Labour through tricky parliamentary procedures over a record five law-'n'-order bills in this session have disastrously — and deservedly — back-fired. The public was rightly outraged by the Home Secretary's initial move to leave the paedophile and stalking bills to private members' measures and they are equally unimpressed by his procrastination over knife controls. But most serious of all has been his refusal to ban all handguns. Yesterday's publication of his Firearms (Amendment) Bill left the Conservative party divided into three (a rightwing too tough faction, a liberal too soft, and an indeterminate okay group) but with the vast majority of the public united in opposition.

Mr Howard's Bill would greatly strengthen firearms controls requiring all 160,000 handguns over .22 calibre to be handed in to the police and introducing tougher rules on gun sales, certification, ammunition and club security. No one would be allowed to hold a handgun at home. Special permits would be required to move them from a club to another sporting site. But the Dublin Snowdown campaign is right to insist that this is not enough. Some 40,000 pistols would still exist and this number would grow as gun-owners received up to £50 million in compensation for the handguns they had handed in. A .22 calibre gun would still be capable of repeating the massacre of 16 children which occurred in Dunblane. Remember, the guns at both Dunblane and Britain's other massacre, Hungerford, were all legally registered.

The Home Secretary is silly to talk of a total ban driving current handgun owners underground — the police already have the names and addresses of every licensed handgun owner and will know who has not handed in their weapons. In any case, his Bill already includes a 10-year sentence for possessing an unlicensed handgun. A total ban on handguns would still allow sports enthusiasts to go to rifle or shotgun clubs if they want to. It would of course curtail their previous freedom but which is more important: the right to join a handgun club or the need to protect the public and curb Britain's growing gun culture? A handgun ban means there would be fewer weapons around to fall into illegal hands. That must be a plus.

There is a more obvious reason why the Home Secretary is being short-sighted in not permitting Parliament a free vote on the issue. He had hoped to fight the coming election on Labour being soft on crime. Yet for all his hardline rhetoric, Michael Howard remains the minister who is resisting proper controls over knives and handguns. No wonder Labour is smiling. The Ulster Unionists yesterday said they would not join Labour and the Liberal Democrats in supporting a total ban but they may still abstain on such an amendment which has already been promised by a Tory backbencher. Mr Howard faces the worst of all possible positions: persisting with his partial ban but losing it in an ignominious parliamentary reverse. Why doesn't he make a virtue of his political plight by covering up a surrender with a magnanimous offer of a free vote. He'll never be a hero, but he could make himself less of a villain.

Mission impossible

No one is beyond recall

IT WOULD be tempting to conclude from some of this week's events — one school shut because of a single disruptive pupil and another where rioting continued even after it had been closed — that the underlying fabric of society was being torn apart. When stories like this dominate the newspapers and television news it is all too easy to fall into the trap of thinking that human nature is much worse than it is and that it is impossible to reform people who have fallen so low. In such unhappy circumstances it is worth reminding ourselves that the media, almost inevitably, reports bad news more frequently than it does good news. A train that crashes is news, one that arrives on time is not. (Well, perhaps that's a bad example but you know what we mean).

In an attempt to redress the balance it may be worth quoting a current example where one man, using the latest physical, sporting and counselling techniques, has attempted to reconstruct a successful team from what might appear at first sight to be unpromising material: two alleged wife batterers, two alcoholics, two former jailbirds, one who broke someone's nose, someone else who dropped his trousers, another who posed naked, yet another who bedded an MP's daughter plus two team mates who were involved in a brawl with each other. Not to mention the posse that ran amok in a night club before rioting in a plane on the way back from a controversial tour in the Far-east. If Glenn Hoddle can turn this lot — complete with Paul Gascoigne under seemingly daily reconstruction — into decent citizens who can also win football matches (especially next week's game against Georgia) then he will deserve a very special prize. For rehabilitating rehabilitation.

School in a harsh spotlight

WHEN I was in the Ridings school on Monday it was creaking under the strain but still functioning. It did not even bear the signs of breakdown that I have seen in some others. The walls were clean, the building was not vandalised, the pupils went into lessons in a fairly quiet and orderly way.

During the two days of inspection it started to collapse. Now it has done so completely. During the week dozens of journalists have camped outside the front entrance, which is only a couple of yards from the road, as are some of the classrooms. Cameras have filmed through the windows. Pupils going into school in the morning and at lunchtime have been accosted by journalists. Some say they have been given money for their stories. They were encouraged by the attention given to them to stay outside while they should have been in lessons. When teachers came out to bring them in and

they made rude gestures and comments behind their backs, these were filmed and they were able to watch themselves on television when they got home. Then a 60 foot gantry was hoisted to the front of the school and a camera filmed through windows all over the school and in the playground. It is said now that the inspectors observed some of the worst behaviour they have ever seen. Who can really have been surprised? After 16 years as a National Union of Teachers local secretary in a fairly turbulent area, I have seen similar effects from media concentration before, most notably at Drummond Middle School in the Honeyford area. The trauma done will not be recovered from for a long time.

When I met the NUT members in the school on Monday, they were very sceptical of the National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers' claims of 60 teachable pupils. NUT members in the school were saying that before the media circus arrived they were under pressure, but did not feel physically threatened. They wanted more support for the school in terms of strengthened management, experienced staff brought in to cover for colleagues who were off long-term sick, and the exclusion of some pupils who had worsened their way through the school's internal disciplinary procedures. We were in negotiation on these issues, but our efforts have been overtaken by a different approach.

Arts and humanities: core business for the critical faculties

AS DEANS of arts and humanities in British universities and colleges, we write to challenge the findings of the survey into graduate employment (Leading firms spur arts graduates, October 24). It is difficult to reconcile the view that employers fail to find appropriate abilities in arts graduates with the opinions expressed to us by many of the companies to whom we speak. The majority of these insist that the kind of skills which, according to the report, employers seek — the "people skills" of communication, team work and leadership — are just as likely to be found among arts graduates as among those in other disciplines. In teaching the arts and humanities, most universities make explicit to their students the need to demonstrate precisely those skills which can be transferred readily to the work force. Indeed, assessment is frequently devised with precisely that need in mind.

Consequently, we contest strongly the reported view of one of the recruitment companies commissioning the survey that "... the basic fodder the education system churns out needs to be more employable for the majority of recruiters". The arts and humanities develop adaptability and versatility in students. While doing so, they also nurture an awareness that people are more than merely "fodder" to be "churned out" by one system for consumption by another. There is much evidence to suggest that what is needed in the workplace in particular, and in society in general, is men and women who understand the balance which must be struck between economic efficiency and human values. Producing the ability to reconcile both of these imperatives is the "core business" of the arts and humanities.

The members of the Council of UK Deans in the Arts and Humanities whom we have been able to contact are absolutely unanimous in their criticism that the article is grossly misleading and damaging to the employment prospects of arts students past and present. In collaboration with the Council for Industry and Fitter Education, we are funding a survey, "Humanities students and the world of work" which will, we are confident, offer an alternative view to that expressed by the article. Michael Worton, Faculty of Arts, University College, Gower Street, London WC1E 6BT, and 67 other UK deans in the arts and humanities.

The other way

THREE cheers for Larry Elliott's article (Back to the 1950s, October 31) for presenting an alternative philosophical and policy agenda to the present tendency for all major political parties to revert to socially authoritarian ideas and policies of the past. The present hysteria about morality and the scapegoating of teachers for all the ills of society is merely a smoke screen to divert attention away from the real causes of the social crisis facing millions of people.



Howard's law

SIMON Hoggart (Sketch, October 26) is right to draw attention to Michael Howard's peculiar vowel-movements ("the Llanelli shift") but not quite accurate in his description of these phenomena. Rather than turning everything into the letter "i", Howard inserts an extra "i" into words ending "ie". The classic example is "horribill peepill" — not, as Hoggart would have it, "horribill peepie". Beyond dispute is the fact that phonologically, as in juridical matters, the Home Secretary is a law unto himself.

When a Pc blows the whistle

WHILE acknowledging the contents of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary Annual Report (Bullying in the police, "Increasing", October 30) and the need to improve within the police service our conduct to each other, can I mention a form of bullying that is seldom brought to public attention, and that is the bullying by senior officers of their junior colleagues.

A constable is threatened with disciplinary action for having the affront to write to his MP; a young constable in his first two years of service is threatened after a national newspaper ran a story of his difficulties on the very low wages for probationer constables; a sergeant threatened with "severe consequences" after mentioning what the officer describes as corrupt practice to a TV programme. All these examples happened recently at different locations within a short space of time.

We have a great deal to do inside the police service in respect of "bullying" but surely we should start at the top; only then will we tackle this serious problem. Mike Bennett, Chislehurst, Metropolitan Police Federation, Croydon Police Station, 71 Park Lane, Croydon, Surrey CR9 1BP.

A leaf from the market forces book

ANOTHER MANIFESTO

AS the election approaches, our series *Another Manifesto* will continue to give readers a chance to inject constructive ideas into political debate. Nearer the election, a point will be reached when it is felt that it deserves to be taken up by our political leaders.

to pay for their habit, and a reduction in demand for the contraband and impure variety. Profits for importers and pushers would plummet and these drugs would lose their appeal to criminals. Trafficking would diminish while customs and police could concentrate on the remaining illegal routes, their seizures being recycled into pure dispensed medicine to addicts who could be treated as they should be advised and helped.

problem would be to make all new public sector jobs for five days per week instead of four. Wages would be reduced but by less than one fifth, because the Government would save money in reduced social security payments. This is only a small step towards sharing out work and income more equitably, but public spending would not be increased and no one takes a cut in income because it only applies to new jobs.

INITIALLY, cannabis should be legalised totally and market forces should be allowed to supply it in the way they do other commodities: alcohol, tobacco, chocolate.

Richard Mountford, 76 Springfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham B14 7DY.

disregarded for income support entitlement. Market value by local authorities supported by central government funding, if necessary, and the vendor given the choice to remain as a secure tenant at a fair rent, or seek a transfer to more appropriate local authority or housing association accommodation.

Next should come a change in the law so that, while still illegal, addictive drugs such as heroin, cocaine and amphetamine can be prescribed by doctors and dispensed by chemists, as happened in the sixties.

AGREE with Jeff Norton (October 19) and Stan Rosenblatt (October 26) that we need to reduce the working week. It is absurd to have millions of unemployed or working very few hours while others work far longer hours than their job, for fear of losing their job if they claim.

One strategy to reduce this

Martians on the doorstep, roughly speaking



Mark Lawson

JUST as many newspaper obituaries operate in a code for the knowing — "special rapport with the young" indicating paeophilic and so on — the tourist guidebook has always watched its language. Only after several turgid excursions does the traveller learn that, particularly in the temperamentally inoffensive American publications, "not always fully appreciated on a first visit" describes the square centre of Europe, while "a place of understated charms" is a rubbish tip with people living on it. Accordingly, the Rough Guide series, started by an Australian but edited from London, vowed to tell the truth. If a town was a place where outsiders only stayed overnight if they'd been thrown in jail by the notoriously corrupt police force, the guides would say so. Now, ignoring what an

American guidebook might call a "charming native vernacular expression" about what you should and should not do on your doorstep, the Rough Guide has turned its attention to the vistas outside the office window. The new Rough Guide To Britain, published this week, may dampen any celebrations following this week's declaration by Newsweek magazine that London is "the world's coolest capital" (and they didn't mean the weather).

Next is the section on law and order: "Although the traditional image of the British 'Bobby' has become increasingly tarnished by stories of corruption, racism and crooked dealings..." Hey, cab-driver, turn back for the airport, willya? "...the police continue to be approachable and helpful." As you were.

China, Burma, Singapore or Turkey — find themselves "at risk" with an unexpected dilemma. Is it morally permissible to go on living in Britain? How can we be willing to reside in this economic basket-case, with its repressive and unpopular government, bent police force, crude and tasteless food, sexual inhibition and rigid social structures?

Reading the Rough Guide to Britain is a disorientating experience. It would be tempting to say that it resembles British life as viewed by a Martian. But a Martian could describe everything, while not understanding what it meant; the Rough Guide's editors understand what everything means, but are incapable of describing it. Faced with their own nation, they substitute the instinctive awe of the traveller for the reflex ire of the resident. And so Britain — a notably stable, prosperous and free democracy — comes out sounding like a hellhole.

Always nervous of patriotism and nationalism, I found myself roused to a defensive flag-waving — or, anyway, fluttering — by the Rough Guide's assault on my homeland. For all the accuracy of some of its rants and laments, the book's presentation of Britain is, overall, a pork pie — and here I am referring to the quaint rhyming language of the capital rather than the laughable indigenous cuisine.

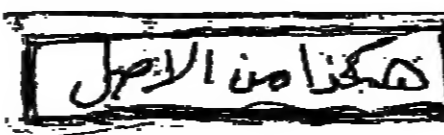
With an attitude to history ingrained with the habits of political correctness, the book's editors cheerfully redistribute the British Isles in a footnote to the Introduction, which advises that Northern Ireland can be found, reunited with the South on the Rough Guide To Ireland.

to occupy the implied delay, our tourists perhaps purchase a newspaper. "The pernicious Sun, the sleazebag Independent, the Murdoch stables, its chief rivals in the sex and scandal stakes are the Daily Star and the self-consciously ridiculous Daily Sport..." the middle-brow daily tabloids — the Daily Mail and Daily Express — are uniformly Tory-biased

and show a depressing preoccupation with the royal family and TV celebrities. The privatised train still deludes? How about a bite to eat? "Pork pies, an unaccountably popular English snack made of compressed balls of meat and gristle encased in wobbly jelly and thick pastry." (Despite this libel on good descriptions, readers are spared a description of the exact contents of black pudding, here summarised only as "a kind of sausage.")

Some may find the volume's persistent peevishness in stark contrast to, for instance, the Rough Guide To Cyprus's "soft-back called analysis of the island's turmoil" ("However, calm now reigns.") Or, indeed, the sunny beginning of the West Africa edition which — preparatory to dealing with 17 countries which include Nigeria, Liberia and sundry other dictatorialisms and human rights abuses — advises the reader, in the paragraph exactly equivalent to that which begins the Britain volume: "The physical and cultural diversity of West Africa would be hard to exaggerate... you'll encounter a degree of good humour, vitality and openness which can make the insularity of Western cultures seem absurd."

British liberals — who have agonised about whether it is ethically justifiable to visit



Bomb for liquidator as banks go bust

IMF mission rolls into town to attempt election-eve rescue of loan deal vital to Bulgaria. Julian Borger in Sofia reports

BULGARIA is once again on the brink of economic disaster and is faced with the prospect of insolvency. With foreign reserves dwindling fast and hyper-inflation looming, a team from the International Monetary Fund arrived yesterday to salvage a restructuring agreement that went astray over the summer.

They have found a Socialist government threatened with a rout in the second round of presidential elections tomorrow, and unable to unite over economic policy.

The IMF is threatening to withhold \$115 million (£72 million) in credits because the government of prime minister Zhan Videnov failed to meet a deadline, agreed with the fund in July, for the liquidation of 64 loss-making state enterprises, the privatisation of about 50 more and the "isolation" of others from a domestic banking system which continues to haemorrhage funds.

Without the second tranche of the IMF loan, and the boost

of these companies, it doesn't need to go to court. They just want to show they are doing something and then delay the process as long as possible," he said.

The economy is plagued by the treatment of state enterprises and banks as cash reservoirs by shadowy economic groups run mostly by former nomenklatura linked to the governing Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP).

Complices in the management boards of the state enterprises siphon off resources to private cartels, either as loans which are never repaid or by buying expensively from the cartels and selling to them at a discount.

A large share of these misappropriated resources is sold away in foreign bank accounts. Rossen Rosenov, an analyst at the Institute for Market Economics (IME), believes these outflows of unidentified capital are "the main reason underlying the rise in foreign currency demand and the depreciation of the lev at the end of 1995 and in 1996".

The Orion group of companies, whose managers are close colleagues of Mr Videnov, were implicated in one such scandal, which led to the closure of the Bank of Agricultural Credit (BAC) and the

group's own Bulgarian Agricultural and Industrial Bank. Eight more banks, sucked dry by similar looting, have been closed and face liquidation.

In a sign of the high stakes involved, the BAC liquidator's car was blown up on Thursday. Haralampi Anchev, who is also secretary of the commission supervising the presidential elections, escaped injury.

"I do not discount the possibility that this terrorist act was related to the elections," said Nikolai Valchanov, a member of the electoral commission.

Behind the delays in privatisation lies the realisation that many of the enterprises up for sale are in such a poor state that closure is virtually inevitable once subsidies are withdrawn. The unemployment rate, now at 10 per cent, would jump dramatically and that would increase the mounting pressures within the BSP for Mr Videnov to resign.

Tomorrow's elections are unlikely to change much in the short term. Even if Petar Stoyanov, a reformer, wins the second round — as looks likely — he will inherit an embattled position. But a big win by Mr Stoyanov may hasten Mr Videnov's fall and a realignment in Bulgarian politics.



Policemen and rescue officers remove the car of Haralampi Anchev, secretary of the Central Election Commission, after the blast on Thursday. The bomb exploded as he parked in Sofia but destroyed just the rear of his Mercedes

Telecom sale hitch threatens IRI

John Glover in Milan

THE privatisation of Stet, Italy's telecoms group, originally set for next March, now seems certain to be delayed. Meanwhile, IRI, the giant state holding company of which premier Romano Prodi was twice president and which controls Stet, is sliding fast towards disaster.

Preventing IRI from going over the edge is vital. Its collapse would severely damage a banking system that is already grappling with an awesome pile of dud loans. As sole owner of IRI, the treasury would be left to pick up the pieces.

IRI owns many chronic loss-makers that it must either clean up or kill off. This year IRI is expected to rack up losses of nearly three

trillion lire (£1.4 billion). This will halve its net capital, forcing it either to recapitalise or file for bankruptcy. This has left the government with a dilemma — the first option is probably illegal, the second unthinkable.

Under a 1993 agreement between the Italians and the EU Commission, IRI was given three years to bring its debt down to a "physiological" level by selling assets, mainly its controlling stake in Stet. This is expected to be worth 13-15 trillion lire and would beef up its capital structure, see off the threat of bankruptcy and reduce its debt.

But a regulatory office for the sector must first be set up by act of parliament, where the Prodi government depends on the votes of the far-left Rifondazione Communista, which is opposed to

privatisation. The opposition, which claims to favour selling state firms, has not helped by burying the legislation under almost 6,000 amendments.

Meanwhile, the German government is selling Deutsche Telekom this autumn, the French are selling France Telecom next spring, leaving the Italians with the risk of being left behind.

To meet the March deadline, the Italians need to have their regulator in place by the end of this month. Though the opposition now says it will withdraw its amendments, it remains unlikely the deadline will be met.

That has left the treasury scrambling to rescue IRI without offending Brussels. On Thursday, the constitutional court threw out a lifeline by ruling that if the government

decides no golden share is needed to sell Autostrade and its motorways, then a regulatory office is unnecessary, too. This opened the way to a swift sale, covering IRI's losses.

It is also probable that Brussels will be persuaded to extend the 1996 accord to allow Stet to be sold next November.

That doesn't mean the government and treasury can break out the champagne just yet. The Green party, which forms part of Prodi's governing coalition, opposes selling Autostrade unless the government retains a golden share. And, prior to a sale, parliament must extend Autostrade's concession until 2038 or it will be impossible to value the company. And the Greens are ready to give battle over that, too.

Deutsche Bank opts for safety-conscious pilot

Bond specialist to take key role, says JULIA GIERZ

DEUTSCHE Bank, the biggest bank in Germany, will undergo a boardroom shuffle next spring when its current chairman, Hilmar Kopper, steps down.

He will be replaced by Rolf Breuer after the annual meeting next May, in a move which analysts suggest is unlikely to result in a significant shift in direction.

Mr Kopper, who is stepping aside "at his own request" with a year of his contract still to run, is widely expected to become head of the supervisory board. He took over as chairman seven years ago, following the assassination of the then head of the bank, Alfred Herrhausen, in a terrorist attack.

Mr Breuer, who is only three years younger than 61-year-old Mr Kopper, has spent all his working life with Deutsche Bank. He joined in 1968 as a trainee and was appointed to the board in 1985.

A specialist in shares and bonds, Mr Breuer worked hard as head of the supervisory board of Frankfurt Stock Exchange to establish the city's place as a leading European financial centre — a campaign which cannot have been helped by his own bank's decision to build its in-



Rolf Breuer: new direction

ternational investment banking business around its Morgan Grenfell subsidiary in London.

Mr Breuer is an advocate of shareholder value — a concept gaining ground rapidly among German industrialists and managers. Open-minded and a good communicator, he is seen as a safe pair of hands after some of the problems which dogged Mr Kopper's regime.

The bank led the \$1.25 billion rescue at Metallgesellschaft and was the main creditor of the now jailed property tycoon Jürgen Schneider.

Mr Kopper ran into heavy criticism after describing as "peanuts" the amount of money the Schmeider property company owed to small businesses at the time of its collapse. More recently, Deutsche Bank had to inject about \$200 million into Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz to enable the engineering group to stave off bankruptcy.

"Mr Breuer won't drop the bricks his predecessor did," said one shareholder this week.

Mr Breuer is likely to seek to bring a greater diversity to Deutsche Bank's investment portfolio, where the largest holdings are in Daimler-Benz and the Allianz insurance group. Mr Breuer has said that the near-25 per cent stake which Deutsche Bank holds in Daimler-Benz represents too large a proportion of the portfolio.

Mr Breuer is already a member of the supervisory boards of a number of companies, including Salamander, Dyckerhoff and Preussag.

It has not yet been decided if he will succeed Mr Kopper as head of the supervisory board at Daimler-Benz.

Update

□ Samsung Aerospace Industries, part of South Korea's giant Samsung group, confirmed yesterday that it is studying a Dutch government proposal to take over bankrupt plane-maker Fokker, but said no deal had yet been concluded. The company wants to make use of Fokker's know-how to build a new generation of regional jets. Court-appointed administrators who have been running Fokker since it was declared bankrupt in March, gave Samsung the exclusive right to examine Fokker's books in September with a view to a possible bid for its core plane-making business.

□ Poland and Spain are being considered by US car maker General Motors as possible sites to build a new small car for Europe which it announced yesterday it was considering developing with Japanese manufacturer Suzuki Motor Corporation. Analysts predict that GM will introduce the car into production at its plant in Poland, currently being built, and at an existing plant in Spain in the first quarter of the year 2000, while Suzuki is expected to start production at its plant in Hungary around the same time.

□ Yugoslav government plans to push companies and banks into selling stocks on the bourse, rather than raising capital through direct private sales of shares, will fall because the country lacks basic market institutions, economists warned yesterday.

The UK's Best Buy

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A corner of Italy that is kosher

Many a New York bar mitzvah celebration is enlivened by Piedmontese winery's output, reports JOHN GLOVER in Milan

VISITORS to the Araldica winery, which nestles among the Monferrato hills south of Turin in the heart of Piedmont, should not be surprised to bump into workers sporting heavy beards, ringlets and Jewish kippah hats.

Along with the unbottled *vin sfuso* sold at the winery, and the posher bottled brands it retails through Tesco and Sainsbury "we looker specially to the UK market," confides general manager Claudio Manera — Araldica has a hot business in kosher wine.

The difference between kosher and ordinary wine can be seen from the label —

about £1.5 million — to a US importer which sells under the Bartenura label. Its main market is New York, where no bar mitzvah or Passover celebration is complete without kosher wine.

"Kosher" means "allowed" and wine is a sacrament. The religious significance of wine means an observant Jew would want to drink wine that has been manually prepared by Jewish personnel and is therefore allowed," says Rabbi Ezzan, who works closely with the Araldica winery.

As a Piedmontese firm, Araldica specialises in barbara, dolcetto and other local grapes. However, its kosher production includes wines from grapes that do not grow in the area. These are picked and pressed where they grow, then the must is transported in tankers to Piedmont, where Araldica turns them into kosher wines. Rabbi Ezzan said, this has made Araldica Italy's major kosher wine producer.

Even so, the business remains a sideline for the company, which has annual sales of up to £8 million and is to concentrate on its traditional wines.

كنا من الصلح

Asia-Pacific billions the ultimate prize as technology shrinks the globe

BT bids to join big-hitters

Tony May

CITY analysts last night scrambled back to their desks to digest the implications of BT's mega-bid for the US telecom group MCI.

The deal, which will make the merged group the second-biggest telecommunications company in the world, exceeded only by AT&T, came too late for many dealers, who had already left for home.

However, as the details of the \$33 billion merger plan seeped out, there was the expectation of hectic trading when business resumes on Monday.

In swallowing a company half its own size, BT risks damaging its share price and straining its finances in the short term, but believes the

prize in the mid to long term is dazzling.

BT knows that size is everything in an age when digital communication is crucial to economic prosperity in the developed world, and it wants to lead the race to connect the 80 per cent of the world's population who, according to the UN International Telecommunications Union, have no access to a telephone.

The biggest prizes are to be found in the Asia-Pacific region, which has 2200 billion to spend on new telecommunications systems over the next five years.

BT and MCI will be among the biggest hitters in a pack that includes the French and German telecom companies, which have linked with Sprint of the US to form Global One; and AT&T, which has set up World Partners with 16 companies.

Other groups have formed alliances around the globe, some with a single project in mind while others have a longer-term strategy.

BT and MCI have been linked since 1994, when BT paid \$4.3 billion for a 20 per cent stake in MCI.

Michael Rowley, executive vice-president of ventures and alliances for MCI, said the two companies had already hammered out a broad

agreement to give each other the right to make purchases or form partnerships as a team.

BT and MCI divided up their global strategy. BT had the leadership in the forging of European acquisitions and partnerships, while MCI did the same in the Americas. But neither has a big presence in the Asia-Pacific region, where the prizes are biggest.

Economists expect China's economy to overtake the US early next century, but first it will need world-class communications. It is laying 14.5 million lines a year — about half of BT's UK network — but so far only 2 per cent of its 1.2 billion population have telephone lines and it will take 10 years for it to have the kind of service Europeans have long expected.

Since BT and MCI joined forces the game has become ever more complex as the distinctions between communications technologies have blurred. A growing web of optical fibres is carrying speech, fax, banking transactions, computer data, television, and video.

New services such as secure networks for multinational financial institutions, smartcard payphones and personal numbers will add to the impetus.

Murdoch's News Corp to build a direct broadcast satellite network, although this has reportedly now faltered.

MCI employs 50,000 people in 70 countries and generates more than \$15 billion in revenue.

New telecommunications contender which aims to go the distance

MCI, the second-largest long-distance telephone company in the US, has spent its life snapping at the heels of its bigger rival, AT&T, writes Mark Tran in New York.

Founded in 1968, MCI was the first company to

challenge the old Bell system on long-distance calls, building a reputation as an astute marketer and grabbing 20 per cent of the \$75 billion (\$46 billion) long-distance business. But with deregulation of the industry, MCI has its eye on

the \$500 million integrated communications market — long distance, local, wireless and Internet access.

To spread the risks, in 1994 MCI sold a 20 per cent stake to BT for \$4.3 billion. In January, it announced a joint venture with Rupert

Notebook

Test of greatness for stalwart Kohl



Mark Milner

GERMANY'S chancellor, Helmut Kohl, this week became the second longest holder of the office in history. On Thursday he overtook Konrad Adenauer for length of service and only Bismarck who, as the Economist recently pointed out, never had to submit himself to the judgment of the ballot box, has served for longer.

Apart from physical size and longevity of service, the two men have something else in common: both were instrumental in promoting German unity. It was Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor, who did the job originally, Mr Kohl who was responsible for bringing East and West Germany back together after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

There the similarity might be thought to end. The jovial, apparently provincial Mr Kohl would appear to have little in common with Bismarck: a Prussian Junker born and bred, much given to wearing military uniform.

Their approach to the divided Germanies which confronted them was also very different. Some argue that Bismarck's motivation was Prussian rather than German. "The unification of Germany was incidental, a by-product of his never-ending pursuit of Prussian interests," according to historian Nevill Thompson in his classic text: Europe since Napoleon. There was nothing incidental about Mr Kohl's approach to German reunification, just as there is nothing incidental about his determination to pursue closer European integration.

While Bismarck battled (three wars in less than a decade) to forge a Prussian Germany, Mr Kohl has sought to allay fears of a German Europe by making his country one of the best Europeans. Bismarck used the strength of the Prussian army, Mr Kohl the strength of the German mark.

Thus in 1990 Mr Kohl pushed through German monetary union — using the then West Germany's wealth to oil the wheels of political change. Now Mr Kohl is using European Monetary Union as part of his strategy to develop a structure in which (hopefully) Germany and its neighbours will feel comfortable with each other.

the latter through heavy transfers, around DM500 billion and still counting.

Now Mr Kohl is coming under fire for his determination to press ahead with European Monetary Union. Not that the Bundesbank is saying that monetary union is a bad thing per se. But it is worried that it will be carried out on the wrong terms.

This may sound odd. The conditions are already laid down in the Maastricht Treaty and once seemed sacred. Now, however, what appeared set in stone is looking creaky. The treaty allows for a degree of interpretation.

Countries in breach of the government deficit or public debt criteria (limited to 3 per cent and 60 per cent of gross domestic product respectively) can still be allowed to qualify for monetary union if they are believed either to be in the process of rectifying the problem or if the ceiling has been exceeded only as a result of exceptional circumstances. Some governments are also looking to exceptional circumstances in a bid to make their budgetary arithmetic add up.

The France Telecom's near £5 billion transfer to the government budget — a ploy which was this week given the nod by the European Commission, Chancellor Kohl has also been reported as supplying comforting words to the premiers of several countries whose political determination to qualify for the first wave of monetary union might be thought to outstrip the degree of their economic convergence.

AS THE former Labour chancellor, Lord Healey, noted with characteristic directness this week: "France, Italy, Spain and the Netherlands hope to meet the criteria, but only by using the figures." Even Germany's own ability to meet the strictest reading of the terms has been cast into doubt.

None of this is going down too well at the Bundesbank's headquarters in Frankfurt. When the European Commission gave its backing to the inclusion of the France Telecom pension transfer in the government's budget calculations, the response was clear. "Wrong," said Bundesbank council member Klaus-Dieter Kluhschöber.

The Bundesbank is, in a very direct way, the custodian of the country's currency. For many Germans the mark has become the symbol of the post-war economic success.

A large section of the population does not want to give it up. For them the euro will not represent the route to a stronger currency and lower interest rates — the reward held out to others. At best the euro would simply be the mark by another name.

More likely Germany will face a weaker currency and higher interest rates. There are even those who suggest Mr Kohl would like a weaker mark to help German industrial competitiveness. That is perhaps going too far, but the more the criteria are watered down, the weaker the euro will be.

Hence the angst in Frankfurt and elsewhere. Though the Bundesbank has never courted popular disaffection, the stance strikes a chord with many.

This should give Mr Kohl cause to pause. Bismarck's redrawing of the map of Europe left a permanent legacy. Mr Kohl's legacy will be different. But he needs to get his EMU sums absolutely right. The alternative could be long division.

Sterling's rise alarms exporters

Sterling is experiencing a number of positive factors in EMU safe-haven status, higher oil prices and firming economic growth," James McKay, international economist at Paine Webber, said.

Douglas Godden, head of economic policy at the CBI, said: "There are growing worries among exporters at the effect of sterling's rise on their business. They will be even more concerned if the pound rises above DM3.50 and stays there."

A British Chambers of Commerce spokesman said a strong pound would hit key sectors like engineering, automobiles and aerospace. "British exporters not only face a strong pound but have to reckon with a weakened mark and the poor economic climate elsewhere in Europe."

The concern over exports was contained to some extent by yesterday's Purchasing Managers' Index (PMI) which registered the fastest expansion for 18 months, underpinned by strengthening domestic demand.

A surge in new orders, to the highest level since September 1994, boosted the overall index to 54.5, signalling accelerating expansion.

The Chartered Institute of Purchasing and Supply, which conducts the monthly snapshot of manufacturing activity, said orders were strongest for consumer goods, fuelled by the pick-up in retail demand, but reported a sharp increase in purchases of investment goods. It welcomed signs that recruitment intentions rose.

CIPS director-general Peter Thomson said: "Given the strength of demand reported by manufacturers of all types of goods, there is every chance this increase in employment is set to continue."

City analysts pointed to the fresh evidence of tightening in the labour market as a possible economic justification for Chancellor Kenneth Clarke's decision to raise base rates to 8 per cent earlier this week.

Although prices in the sector are still falling, according to the PMI, analysts warned that the latest evidence of a strengthening manufacturing sector — which the Chancellor is known to view as a guide to the underlying health of the whole economy — could increase the prospect of another rise in base rates.

David Walton, economist at investment bank Goldman Sachs, said: "To keep inflation under firm control, base rates may need to rise to around 8.5 per cent in coming months."

The Chancellor's panel of independent advisers was divided about the need to change monetary policy, its regular report on the economy showed yesterday. Written (and printed) before the rate rise on Wednesday, the panel divided on whether to tighten policy or leave it on hold, lessened the report's impact on the markets.

Market fears for inflationary pressure in the US lessened last night as the latest jobs figures showed a small increase in employment last month, but left the unemployment and average earnings rates unchanged.

M&S gets back to business in bomb-scarred Manchester



MARKS & Spencer returned in strength yesterday to Manchester, where its main regional branch was destroyed by the IRA bomb in June, writes Tony May.

Two large temporary branches were opened in the city centre by chairman Sir Richard Greenbury (right), flanked by the rival

managers of Manchester United and City, Alex Ferguson (left) and Steve Coppell.

Sir Richard promised a "state of the art" flagship store when rebuilding of the bombed Arndale Centre area begins in earnest next year. Playing on the North's football rivalry, he said: "We've just opened a

major new store in Newcastle — and we can't have a bigger store in Newcastle than Manchester."

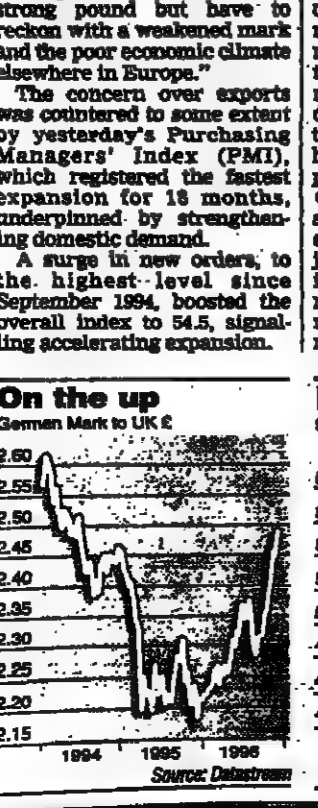
The bombing will have affected the group's profits — it had annual sales of about £80 million — but Sir Richard is still expected to report on Tuesday a 14 per cent rise in profits to £443 million for the first

half of the year, putting the group on course to push full-year profits past £1 billion for the first time.

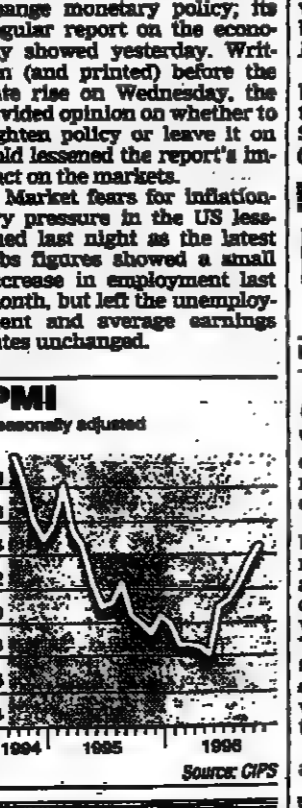
The opening of a food store in Spring Gardens and clothes department in part of the Lewis's building, coincided with the launch of late-night Christmas shopping.

PHOTOGRAPH: CHRIS LOUFTE

On the up



PMI



Digital TV decoder will cost £300

SATELLITE broadcaster BSkyB said yesterday that the set-top box decoder viewers will need to receive digital television could cost up to £300.

BSkyB, which is thought to be talking to possible partners like British Telecom about a potential link-up on digital television, said this would have to be subsidised.

There are a lot of discussions going on as to how we do that, but we are confident we will proceed to take advantage of new technology."

Speaking at BSkyB's annual meeting in London

yesterday, chairman Gerry Robinson repeated the group's determination to forge ahead in the digital revolution in Britain and in Germany, where it can take a stake of up to 49 per cent in DFL, the satellite broadcaster run by the Kirch group.

Mr Robinson's comments came as BSkyB announced a 31 per cent jump in first quarter pre-tax profits, to £66 million, while the number of paying subscribers climbed to 5.65 million.

BSkyB defeated a shareholder rebellion over a rule change protecting two of its directors, Frenchmen Michel Crepon and Jerome Seydoux, from having to be re-elected

at future meetings. The company said the move was needed because 17 per cent shareholder changes had demerged, transferring its shares to Pathé, which had no automatic boardroom place.

But Pirce, the corporate governance consultancy, argued directors should be answerable to all shareholders. Stuart Bell, Pirce's research director, backed by John Callum, of the West Midlands pension fund, told the meeting the move was a "poor example of corporate governance practice". Mr Robinson said the rule change was "in effect allowing a name change from Chaperons to Pathé", and that the arrangement had been

laid out in BSkyB's flotation prospectus. He said BSkyB had won support from 98 per cent of its shareholders.

Deputy managing director David Chance insisted BSkyB was still in talks with Time Warner about the new Warner Channel, which was due to have been launched by BSkyB yesterday.

Earlier, there had been speculation that Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, which owns 40 per cent of BSkyB, had forced the group to pull the plug on the channel in retaliation for Warner's backing of its Fox News channel in the US.

BSkyB shares closed down 10p at 589.5p.

Whitbread fancies pizza chains

WHITBREAD, the brewing and leisure corporation, confirmed yesterday it was in talks to buy BrightReasons, the restaurant group which owns the Pizzaland and Bella Pasta chains.

The deal is expected to value the company at £50 million.

Sources close to both companies said last night that talks between Whitbread and BrightReasons, Britain's largest unquoted restaurant chain, were well advanced and that an announcement was imminent.

BrightReasons, which owns over 180 outlets, has

been put up for sale by its owners, venture capital groups Mercury Asset Management and Morgan Grenfell, who have been looking for a way to realise the value of their investment since BrightReasons pulled its planned flotation in 1994.

The likely deal, which was first reported in the Guardian, is expected to see the departure of chairman Michael Guthrie, the former Maceo Leisure boss, who bought most of the chain from Grand Metropolitan five years ago.

Mr Guthrie, with the rest of the management team he assembled for the buy-out, is expected to pocket an estimated £8 million from the sale, which may be used to buy a stake in another quoted com-

pany. Whitbread, which already runs some 268 Pizza Hut restaurants in a joint venture with the Italian firm, is thought to have beaten a rival approach to BrightReasons from Deep Pan Pizza-owner City Centre Restaurants.

It is understood that Whitbread plans to convert many of the BrightReasons sites to its own brands, including Cafe Rouge and Dime, the brands it snapped up in August's £133 million acquisition of Pelican Group.

But Whitbread, which now enjoys Britain's second biggest restaurant sales after McDonald's, could sell the Pizza Pizzeria brand.

Whitbread shares closed up 18.5p at 784.5p last night.

News in brief

Harding's successor

John Goldman, the new chairman of the Benfield insurance group, has been appointed non-executive chairman of Benfield & Rea Investment Trust. He replaces Matthew Harding, the vice-chairman of Chelsea Football Club, who was killed in a helicopter crash last week.

Mr Goldman has worked at Benfield with Mr Harding since the mid-1980s and was managing director of the Benfield insurance group.

Salomon cleared

The London arm of Wall Street bank Salomon Brothers will no longer be subjected to special surveillance by City regulators, the Securities and Futures Authority said yesterday. Salomon was put on special watch in October last year after it emerged that computer book-keeping errors had generated millions of pounds' worth of phantom earnings. The SFA said yesterday it was satisfied the problems had been resolved.

Tobacco arrests

Two former chairmen of ITC, the Indian tobacco group in which BAT industries has a 31 per cent stake, were arrested yesterday in connection with alleged foreign exchange violations. Kishan Lal Chugh and Jagdish Narain Sagar were arrested in Calcutta by the finance ministry's Enforcement Directorate, which on Wednesday arrested four other men.

Three bid for PFI project

Pauline Springett

THREE consortiums led by overseas banks have been shortlisted for the transfer to the private sector of more than 700 buildings occupied by the Department of Social Security.

The three bidders are Partnership Property Management, headed by US investment bank Goldman Sachs; Mapeley Holdings, led by US bank Nationsbank; and Opus, led by Japanese securities house Nomura.

The ultimate winner will be announced next year. Peter Lilley, the Social Security Secretary, said: "Each of the consortiums will be invited to submit a bid which details how they propose to meet the Department's requirements. The bids will be evaluated in early 1997 to identify the most suitable supplier."

The successful bidder will assume responsibility, for a period of 25 years, for managing the properties as well as putting in place an invest-

ment programme aimed at upgrading them.

Estimates of the value of the deal vary enormously — anything between £1 billion and £4 billion has been mooted — because property experts cannot agree about the value of the properties involved, many of which are in need of refurbishment.

The annual rent income of the 1.7 million-square metre portfolio is about £170 million, about the same as that of the UK's fourth-largest property group.

The controversial transfer proposal, unveiled earlier this year, is the largest property deal proposed so far under the government's Private Finance Initiative, which aims to encourage private companies to invest in large government construction and property projects.

The three consortia have been whittled down from a list of six which also included UK bank NetWest Markets, facilities management group Pell Frischman and quantity surveyors Bucknall.

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Finance Guardian

Canny Ken's credibility bid

The Chancellor caught the City, the Bank of England and even his own backbenchers napping when he hoisted interest rates. Will his mask of austerity slip to save the Tory bacon on election day?

Report: LARRY ELLIOTT



The crying game... Chancellor Clarke gets an earful from a Nottingham pensioner in the 1992 election campaign

PHOTOGRAPH: RICHARD RAYNOR

WHILE the Chancellor set off from the Treasury through rush-hour traffic on Wednesday night for a live interview on Channel 4, officials at the Bank of England were putting in some unscheduled overtime. Like almost everybody else in the City, the Old Lady had been caught unawares by Kenneth Clarke's decision to hoist base rates by a quarter-point to 6 per cent. In the Bank's case it was a pleasant surprise, since it had been urging the Chancellor to take just such a step. However, it did mean that officials at Threadneedle Street had to rewrite the quarterly Inflation Report, due out next Wednesday, to take account of the impact of the monetary tightening on the economic outlook over the next two years. While the Chancellor was being grilled, and the Bank was fiddling with its equations, Westminster's bars and restaurants were filling up with MPs trying to work out what it all meant for the Budget and beyond. Was this a fiendishly clever plot from Canny Ken — or pre-election political hara-ki?

The consensus view was that the Chancellor had made a Faustian bargain with the Bank's governor, Eddie George, trading a small increase in base rates for a more generous Budget later this month. Previous Conservative Chancellors saw the political merits of cutting taxes ahead of the elections of 1983, 1987 and 1992, and reaped a dividend each time. But this explanation seems a bit glib. There has been little indication that Clarke is preparing for a gambler's last throw on November 28, staking everything on hefty tax cuts aimed at wooing all those disgruntled C1s and C2s back into the fold. A month before last year's Budget, backbenchers ratcheting up speculation that tax cuts would be worth £5 billion, £6 billion, even £8 billion. This time, everything is much more low-key. If anything, expectations have been managed down in recent weeks, so that the betting is now on tax cuts of £2 billion rather than the £3 billion predicted in the late summer. Even this modest reduction comes at a price: cuts in public spending of at least an equivalent amount.

While not quite up to the standard of Sir Stafford Cripps, who insisted that Attlee hold the February 1950 election before the Budget so that there could be no suggestion that he had tried to bribe the electorate, this is remarkably restrained for a Government on course for spectacular defeat. The suspicion lingers that it is all a pretence, and that the mask of austerity will drop in 24 days' time to reveal a far more expansive Chancellor. Clarke denies this, both publicly and privately. His view is that the only way the Government can recover its reputation for competence, lost on Black Wednesday, is to do the right thing for the economy and let the politics look after themselves. With the public sector borrowing requirement still far too high for comfort, his view is that topping two or three pence off the base rate in the Budget would be received badly in the financial markets, and that this displeasure

what it all meant for the Budget and beyond. Like the Prime Minister, the Chancellor is rather proud of the Government's economic record. He believes the Conservatives have a good story to tell, even if some of the pages of the book — the weakness of investment, the beneficial impact of devaluation, the erosion of the tax base caused by the casualisation of the labour market — have been torn out. All this suggests that the City and Westminster may have misjudged the thinking behind Wednesday's base-rate move. Having assumed incorrectly that the Chancellor would refrain from tightening monetary policy for the next six months, they may be wrong again to assume that he is now set on a Budget giveaway. A more subtle analysis is that this week's events give Mr Clarke a credibility cushion over the coming weeks and months. He will probably need this because, as Goldman Sachs and the Institute for Fiscal Studies said in their recent Green Budget, the City may need a leap of faith to believe the Budget arithmetic.

AFTER all the tough talking by the Chancellor, the markets will demand that tax cuts are matched by spending cuts. But there are spending cuts and spending cuts — ones that actually affect programmes and ones that remove the odd billion at the stroke of a pen. No prizes for guessing what to expect this time. Ever since the spending round began in earnest five months ago, ministers have been beating a path to Clarke's door, seeking more money for their departments. They are hoping that the Chief Secretary, William Waldegrave, will follow the example of his predecessor, David Mellor, in 1991, and let public spending rip ahead of the election. In their hearts, they know that there is absolutely no chance of this happening, not least because Mellor's profligacy is one of the reasons the Government's finances are in such an appalling mess. But it has still been a bloody fight. Clarke and Waldegrave have been pointing out that lower-than-expected inflation should allow ministers to de-

Tory election budgets



liver the same volume of services with smaller cash totals. The message has been that there is no gain on the tax side without pain on the spending side. The difficulty is in finding real savings from ministers who can see the logic of public expenditure restraint for every Government department bar their own. With health trusts already warning that hospitals are running out of money, education becoming a key electoral battleground, and Michael Howard's tough stance on crime ratcheting up the law and order budget, there are few easy targets. Defence has already been pruned, civil service numbers slashed, local government squeezed. But all is not lost. There are countless sneaky ways the Treasury can juggle the numbers, dressing up phantom reductions in expenditure as the real thing. There is, for example, the temptation to make deep cuts in public capital spending predicated on compensatory increases in money for infrastructure projects from the Private Finance Initiative. The markets know this. They have seen Chancellors make all sorts of grandiose claims for public spending control in the past, only to see big overruns when the numbers have actually come in. But after the base-rate rise this week, they just might be more forgiving if Clarke's public spending cuts look as if they have been achieved with smoke and mirrors rather than an axe.

Sterling was yesterday nudging DM2.50 against the German mark, up 11 pence in the past month. Its trade-weighted index against a basket of world currencies has

risen by almost 5 per cent over the same period — a sizeable buffer against any post-Budget jitters on the foreign exchanges. Of course, if the Budget is as Crippsian as Clarke insists it will be, sterling could rise still further, stifling calls for further increases in base rates and perhaps even prompting speculation about a pre-election cut. Despite the limited scope for generosity, the Budget will still be intensely political. Clarke is no Cripps, and knows that any tax cuts will start to affect pay packets in April, a month before the likeliest polling day of May 1. In addition, he will be doing his best to wrong-foot Labour, putting it on the defensive over tax, as it was for the whole of the 1992 campaign.

The obvious move is to cut one penny off the basic rate, bringing it down to 23 pence, while at the same time widening the lower 20 pence band. That will bring the Government closer to its long-term aim of reducing the basic rate to 20 pence. This would cost between £2.5 billion and £3 billion, but Clarke could claw some of the money back elsewhere. The IFS believes one obvious target is the £800 million cost of tax relief on profit-related pay. Labour is well prepared. It has estimated that the tax increases announced in the two Budgets of 1993 raised taxes by the equivalent of seven pence on the basic rate of income tax. If the basic rate is cut again to 20 pence after last year's reduction, Gordon Brown will simply say "seven pence on, two pence off". Clarke must know this, and will be looking for something that will deliver a bigger political punch. One possibility would be to pre-announce a phased reduction in the basic rate, with a one pence cut in each of the next four years, bringing it down to 20 pence by the end of the millennium. If — and it's a big if — he can make the sums stand up, it would not only put Labour on the spot but would also provide a reason for giving the Conservatives a fifth term in office. To be frank, Mr Major hasn't got a lot else to offer.

Quick Crossword No. 8273

A crossword puzzle grid with numbers 1 through 23. The grid is partially filled with letters. The words 'YOU CAN LEAD' and 'EVERETT' are visible at the top. The puzzle is titled 'Quick Crossword No. 8273' and includes a 'Solution No. 8272' reference.

- Across**
- 1 Motor-cycle rally — clambers (anag) (8)
 - 5 Egg-shaped (4)
 - 8 Force, urge (5)
 - 10 Peeped, baffled (7)
 - 11 It's thrown around in gymnasia (8,4)
 - 13 Appoint (5)
 - 14 Throws out (5)
 - 17 Neutralised (1,2)
 - 20 Omitted (4,3)
 - 21 EG, a person from Baghdad (5)
- Down**
- 1 Uttered (4)
 - 2 Keep down (7)
 - 3 It's sat on by dairymaids (7,5)
 - 4 Seed used in soups (5)
 - 6 Football team — house (5)
 - 7 Lacking energy, enthusiasm (5)
 - 8 An interrupting exclamation (1,2)
 - 12 Branch of mathematics (5)
- 22 Location (4)**
23 Parsimony (8)
- 15 Destroy body by burning (7)**
16 Squirm (5)
18 Unhealthy — not worthy (5)
19 Touch gently — on the lips (4)

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The Guardian

the week

ILLUSTRATION BY DANIEL FUDLES



Five of the world's richest people are from the Far East. They are so wealthy that you must count their dollars in billions. But what do these fabulous fortunes add up to, asks **Andrew Higgins**

Gold of the tigers

ASIA'S richest tycoon, a man so rich that he has more money than the Duke of Westminster, David Sainsbury Sir James Goldsmith and Sir Evelyn Rothschild put together, learnt his capitalism from money-laundering. Not the fancy fiddles of drug smugglers, arms dealers and bank robbers but the real thing: elbow grease, soap and the occasional egg-white for extra sheen. The son of a gold merchant and money changer in southern China, Lee Shau-kee got his start scrubbing dirty bank-notes in the backroom of the family firm.



Lee Shau-kee
\$12,700,000,000

"If the dollar bill looked cleaner you could get a higher exchange rate," says Mr Lee, now aged 88 and, according to the latest loads-money league table compiled by Forbes magazine, the leader of an Asian charge on the ranks of the world's super-rich. "We washed the notes to make them clean."

And that, in a sense, is what most of Asia has been doing since the end of the second world war. Behind all the hyperbole, whether score-mongering or chest-thumping about "economic miracles" and "tiger economies" lurks a very simple formula — the remorseless pursuit of even the most wretched margins of profit.

Five of the world's 10 richest people are now Asian: one Japanese and four ethnic Chinese (two in Hong Kong, one in Taiwan and one in the Philippines). Their identity marks a critical shift in the balance of economic power and underlies a parallel shift in the focus of western phobias. The west's fear of a godzilla-like Japan rampaging through America and Europe — a popular strain of paranoia in the 1980s, when a

Japanese, Yoshiaki Tsutsumi, topped the world's richest list — is waning.

Today with Tsutsumi pushed to seventh place and other Japanese ousted from the top 10 by their country's long recession, it is the rise of China and a hugely successful diaspora beyond its borders that excites much hype and hyperventilation.

But, top-heavy with property developers and bereft of innovators in any of the technologies that will determine future wealth, this new batch of Asian billionaires does not resemble the praetorian guard of a new economic order. In many ways they are remarkably old-fashioned. The five on the Forbes Top 10 list are brilliant businessmen but they invented nothing, pioneered nothing and, except when they were younger, never really manufactured anything much either.

The emergence of a predominantly ethnic Chinese Asian super-rich is certainly bad news, however, for aficionados — page 14

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NATIONAL SAVINGS

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the week that was

Them on them

The global view

Australian parliamentarians should have realized that as we approach the millennium of globalisation where human movement is indispensable for cooperation and development, no nation can be part of any world community if it continues to set up ideological, racial and religious barriers.

Drunk while ruling over drunk driving cases, Villanova Town Justice James R Bradigan

has been censured by a state conduct commission. The Commission on Judicial conduct found that between 1991 and 1993, Mr Bradigan heard two DWI cases and rendered decisions on two small claims cases while intoxicated himself.

A certain address attaches to Bob Dole's last-ditch efforts to narrow the presidential race. In his scramble for votes, Dole is rewriting history - his own and the nation's - and repudiating what had been a strong record on civil rights.

Us on us

The British view

Police officers receiving large payments while families of Hillsborough victims received very little may seem very unfair - but it was under a system carefully worked out by the law. Relatives who waited anxiously at Lime Street Station to see whether their family had returned, a brother who travelled to Sheffield to identify a victim's body and many who watched the horrific details on television, could not claim because under the rules they were too far from the event.

A shopowner has found out he is officially dead after his former wife declared him deceased following their separation 11 years ago. Aviclar Avil had since remarried. His death had been confirmed by two witnesses and his ex-wife even went to his funeral.

Mail boxes were forced to move a post box 200 metres down the road - after a series of unwanted deliveries from local dogs. The pillar box on cut Lane, Rishton, had become a favourite stopping-off point for dogs on their way to a park. But the stench of their doggy deposits was becoming too much for local posties.

A shopowner has found out he is officially dead after his former wife declared him deceased following their separation 11 years ago. Aviclar Avil had since remarried. His death had been confirmed by two witnesses and his ex-wife even went to his funeral.



THEME OF THE WEEK THE IT GIRLS

As a media phenomenon, the re-invention of the post-war play of the 'IT GIRL' would take some beating. It is a girl who is rich and attractive, in their early twenties, and 'in' and 'out' parties. It is a girl who is a model, a model who is a model, a model who is a model.

slightly gang-brother names behind with it. In 1950s, the women were 'IT' girls. (Patricia Richardson, famous for having once received a kiss on the cheek from Prince Charles at a television party, Tamara Beckwith, famous for... well, just being famous.)

Media studies would say that the 'IT GIRL' is a new phenomenon. It is a girl who is rich and attractive, in their early twenties, and 'in' and 'out' parties. It is a girl who is a model, a model who is a model, a model who is a model.

After it has become a multi-billion dollar industry, the 'IT GIRL' is a new phenomenon. It is a girl who is rich and attractive, in their early twenties, and 'in' and 'out' parties. It is a girl who is a model, a model who is a model, a model who is a model.

A testimony of terror

This week last year October 26, 1995

JOHN LLOYD was looking forward to his parliamentary career. As Labour candidate for Exeter, he needed a 2.5 per cent swing to take the seat from the Tories. But he had reckoned without the storm which engulfed him when the Guardian revealed his South African past.

In 1984, Lloyd had turned state witness against John Harris who, as a fellow member of the African Resistance movement, planted a bomb at Johannesburg railway station which killed a woman after police ignored telephone warnings.

Lloyd's damning testimony led to Harris's murder conviction and, the following year, to his execution. Implored to retract his testimony when he was safely in Britain - which would almost certainly have had the sentence commuted - Lloyd refused.

Although Labour was fully aware of Lloyd's past before his selection, it was deeply

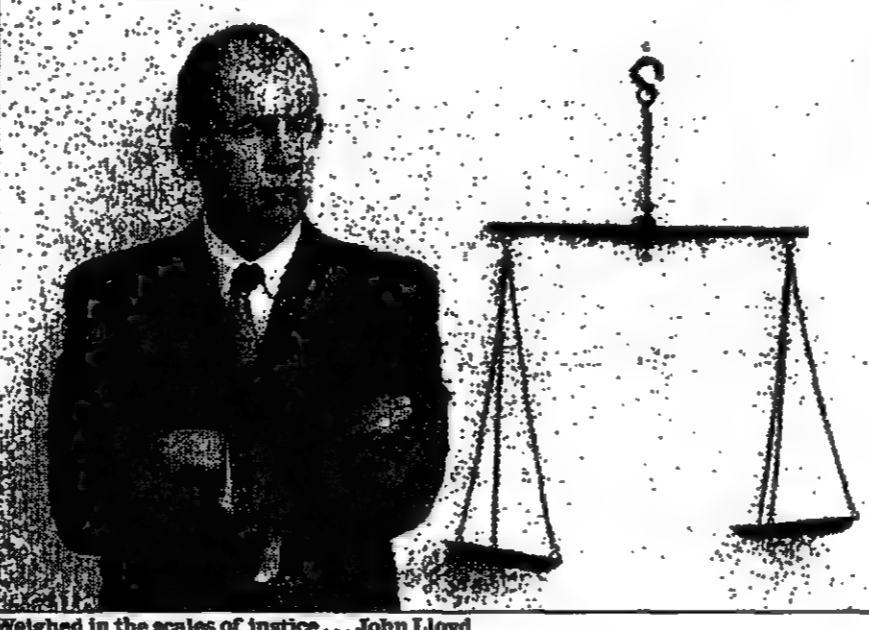
embarrassed by headlines saying "traitor" and "terrorist". The Prime Minister told the Commons: "I am wholly and utterly opposed to any act of terrorism, and I have no doubt the vast majority of people in Exeter will feel the same way."

The Daily Mail pointed out that the story's source was Labour's left wing, angry at the deselection of Liz Davies in Leeds - exposing "the hotbed of the heart of New Labour". It became a political football.

Lloyd fled to the Isle of Wight hoping the storm would die out. He was disappointed.

"It was coming from both sides, from the Daily Mail and Tribune," he recalls. "But it was the Tribune faction that kept it going."

Lloyd says that on the advice of Dave Hill at Labour's press office he wrote a long article defending himself. His version of events in 1984 was roundly supported by Harris's widow, and by Hugh Lewis and Baruch Hirson, both of whom were jailed on Lloyd's evidence.



Welched in the scales of justice... John Lloyd

While Labour initially supported his candidate, it gradually edged in and in May the NEC ordered Exeter to deselect him on the grounds that he had misled

them. Lloyd still insists he had done nothing of the kind: "That was a trumped up charge. I kept hoping for a fair hearing, and I do feel a

bit sore," he says. A source in Exeter describes the local party as "still very angry" towards the NEC who it sees as having been critical of

them as well as of Lloyd. Ben Bradshaw of the BBC was named as the new candidate in June. Lloyd, whose support among Exeter Labour members remains strong, has been leading a hard to Bradshaw's campaign. Meanwhile, he is trying to rebuild his barrister's practice in Exeter which he says was "severely damaged" by the revelations of a year ago.

A new account of the events of 23 years ago is published next week. Labour MP Peter Hain (who, at the age of 15 read the address at Harris's funeral, but has refused to comment on the Lloyd affair), has written a book, Sing the Beloved Country: the struggle for the New South Africa (Folio Press, £12.99). It includes a short, first-hand account of Lloyd's involvement.

"It became vital to get news to Lloyd that if he gave evidence John Harris would be sentenced to death," Hain writes. "Mom... was able to smuggle such a strange to him, and established that he had received it. However, Lloyd ignored this warning."

Gold of the tigers

page 13 dos of the lives of the rich and famous. They are not people who invite Hello! magazine into their homes. "There is a difference between Chinese and foreigners," explains Lee. He is the fourth richest man on the planet yet, unlike younger members of Asian tycoonery, speaks no foreign language and rarely travels abroad. "Foreigners want a private plane or a yacht. I don't go on a yacht more than twice a year."

Instead of buying or better building himself a grandiose villa, as befell Hong Kong's biggest property developer, Lee lives in an apartment block which he owns and which, at least in external decor, resembles nothing so much as an upscale sauna and massage parlour. A mock Venetian fountain squirts relentlessly near an entrance encrusted with fairy lights and gold trim. He has the top five floors, including a rooftop swimming pool, for himself and his children, who live on separate floors with their own families.

The rich in Hong Kong are supposed to live on Victoria Peak and peer down on the hot polio through the clouds. Lee resides only halfway up in the crowded Middlelevels, next to the tram track and a Christian Science church. The street is often blocked by cars and buses ferrying children to a nearby school. He speaks his native Cantonese with the earthy tones of his home village across the border in Shun Tak.

Lee's lot in life would undoubtedly be desirable and impressive to most of us. But relatively speaking, his estate is extraordinarily modest. After all, this is no common or garden millionaire. Forbes magazine estimates he is worth \$12.7 billion (\$3 billion).

That puts him only behind Microsoft's Bill Gates, the American investor Warren Buffet and Paul Scherer, the aging patriarch of a Swiss pharmaceuticals dynasty, in the world wealth stakes. And yet compared with the way his western equivalents handle their money, he is chaff from chaff. Take Bill Gates. Now ranked as

the richest man in the world, the software squillionaire is worth some \$18 billion (\$12 billion) - bigger than the budgets of some small countries. Having made all this money, Gates now clearly intends to enjoy spending at least some of it.

He has splashed out \$20 million to build a 46-room fantasy mansion overlooking Lake Washington near Seattle. Built into the side of a mountain, the house is crammed with computers and video screens, and a host of other academic institutions in Britain, the United States and China.

Hong Kong has plenty of show-offs, as do Asia's other boom cities. Their voracious conspicuous consumption, fuelled by the high-octane growth of Asia's "tiger" economies, has been a bonanza for a small army of gilt-edged pedlars from Europe hawking Rolls-Royce, Mercedes, Cartier, Courvoisier or other brand-name tokens of wealth.

Yet move beyond the merely rich, who still want the world to know they have made it, and enter the stratosphere of real money and strange things start to happen. "Money is useless," says Lee, who has more of the stuff than any of Hong Kong's other 19 billionaires.

If money is so useless, why on earth does he continue making it in such unimaginable quantities? His answer is revealing. "After a certain point you are deceiving yourself. A 100th or even a 500th of what I have is enough for all I need. Anything extra is just to give yourself a sense of satisfaction."

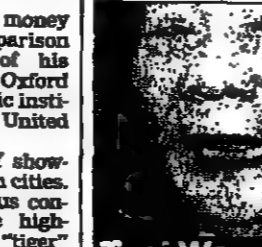
Satisfaction? At what point is satisfaction sat? In the case of Lee, almost certainly never, he enjoys it too much. Like most Chinese magnates he is grooming his children to take over but has no intention of retiring soon. Perhaps no community has ever made money with as much zeal or success as the Chinese diaspora in East Asia. Numbering some 50 million people, it generates more money than the individual countries in which they live. An Australian survey estimated that if you put together all the ethnic Chinese scattered outside China's borders you would have a GDP



Yoshiaki Tsutsumi \$9,200,000,000



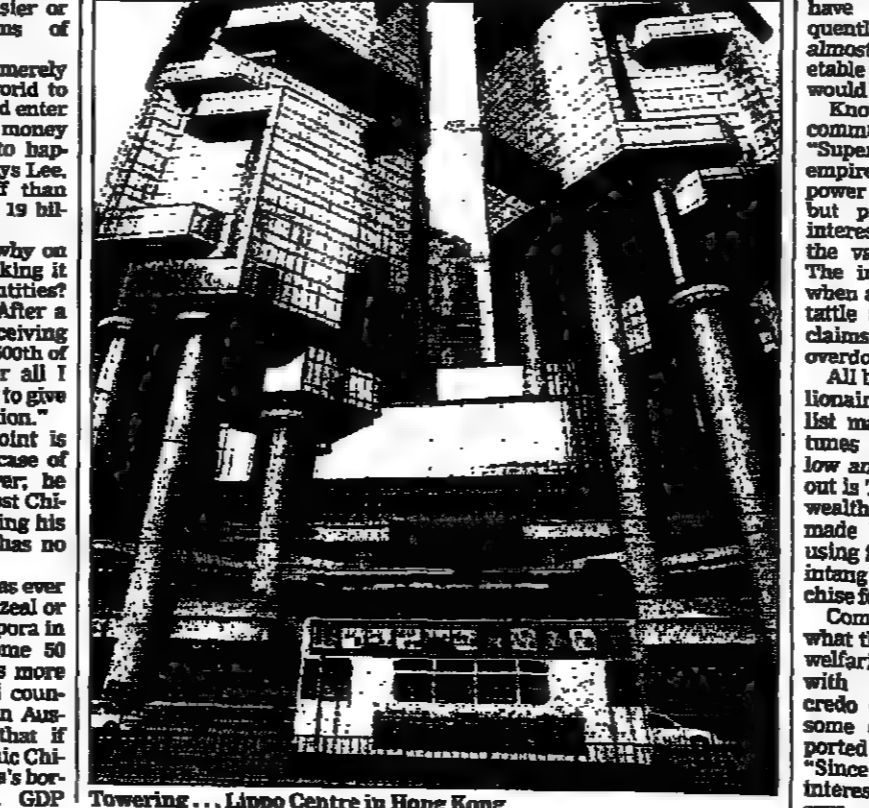
Tan Yu \$7,000,000,000



Tsai Wan-lin \$12,200,000,000



Li Ka-shing \$10,600,000,000



Towering... Lippo Centre in Hong Kong

equivalent of \$450 billion a year. The money-making champions of the world's most nakedly capitalist societies have a problem, however. Despite much nonsense about Confucius as the agent of Asia's capitalist renaissance, the Confucian creed has in reality always frowned upon merchants as grubby, greedy and unworthy of real respect. This explains why, once they have made their billions - and set up their children to make sure the money-making stays in the family - a strange metamorphosis overtakes the public persona of Asia's super-rich.

"My life is rather simple and I don't need much for my daily expenses. I would rather save my money for charitable donations," claimed Li Ka-shing, the world's sixth-richest man according to Forbes. He is Hong Kong's best known billionaire and, until a local woman won a gold medal for windsurfing at the Atlanta Olympics, the colony's greatest hero.

In a rare newspaper interview last year, he claimed to prefer shoes with plastic soles "so I don't have to change them so frequently" and that his modest, almost monastic, meals of vegetable and fish - "the kind you would usually feed your cat with".

Known in Chinese-speaking communities across Asia as "Superman", Li controls a huge empire of property, construction, power plants and other concerns, but presents himself as more interested in family values than the value of his shareholdings. The image took a serious dent when a magazine published a tittle-tattle about his private life and claims that his wife died of a drug overdose.

All but one of the five Asian billionaires at the top of the Forbes list made the bulk of their fortunes on property. They bought low and sold high. The odd man out is Taiwan's Tsai Wan-lin, with wealth put at \$12.2 billion, who made his pile selling insurance, using friends in the ruling Kuomintang to secure a dominant franchise for his firm, Cathay Life.

Commentators often juxtapose what they perceive as the feckless welfareism of Britain and Europe with the brass get-rich-quick credo of the "Asian model". To some extent the theory is supported by men like Lee Shau-kee. "Since boyhood I've always been interested in making money," he says. "Before the communists

HAVE YOU BEEN PAYING ATTENTION? ?

- 1. "Everybody thinks he walks on water, but he's not squeaky clean. He sought love and comfort somewhere else." Whose mistake? (a) Geoffrey Boycott (b) Paul Gascoigne (c) Albert Einstein (d) Bob Dole
 2. "He had a fantastic sun-tanned body and a nice big bum. His thighs and calves were very muscular." Who? (a) Geoffrey Boycott (b) Paul Gascoigne (c) Albert Einstein (d) Bob Dole 3. "You will expect no affection from me and you will not reproach me for this." Whose loving sentiment? (a) Geoffrey Boycott (b) Paul Gascoigne (c) Albert Einstein (d) Bob Dole 4. Lee extremely miserable. Who and why? 5. Why did Britannia waive the royal? 6. Who said he wouldn't collect his prize? (a) Graham Swift (b) Salman Rushdie (c) Noel Gallagher (d) Danny Wilson 7. Who took a £7,000-a-week wage cut to get an extra half-hour in bed? 8. Starved by a Turkey. Who? 9. "There is nothing wrong with slapping as long as it is done with love." Whose discipline? (a) John Major (b) George Carey (c) Gillian Shephard (d) Nigel de Grandpré 10. Whose "coloured vinyl image"? 11. "I have been deeply impressed by his determination to address his problems and the progress that he has already made." Who was the forgiving Christian? (a) George Carey (b) Gillian Shephard (c) Gillian Shephard (d) Gillian Shephard 12. £23-a-night in a B&B. Whose budget weekend away? 13. Arguably the "coolest" place on the planet, according to Newsweek magazine. Where? (a) Hovosibirsk (b) Shreveport (c) London (d) Barcelona (e) Seattle 14. Unhappy returns for which 10-year-old? 15. A call on the mobile came too late for him to answer about the House. Who?

Answers, bottom left of this page.

Just... (Large advertisement on the right edge of the page)

Mikhail Gorbachev changed the world, now he spends his time drinking tea and pondering

Just call me president

THE JOANNA COLES INTERVIEW



AT THE Dorchester, Mikhail Gorbachev's driver is having a problem. The doorman won't let him keep the grey Daimler waiting outside the hotel reception, even for two minutes. Instead he must circle the traffic, stopping only when he sees Mr and Mrs Gorbachev emerge from the revolving door.

"But it's Gorbachev," says the driver incredulously. "He's a VIP." "I don't care," retorts the doorman peevishly, bristling in his racing-green and gold livery. "They're all VIPs here."

I ask who the other VIPs are. "Lionel Ritchie," he says grandly, "and the foreign minister of Northern Cyprus."

And so the purveyor of perestroika and one-time keeper of the nuclear key is summarily dismissed, just another celebrity checking out a piece of political flotsam bobbing away on an ocean of obscurity.

"He still likes to be called President," warns Pavel Faleschenko, Gorbachev's interpreter. In a tense whisper as the ex-president arrives, flanked by three grim bodyguards. We are meeting in a private bar in the bowels of the hotel — if the Dorchester can be said to have bowels for, with its black and gold decor and endless mirrors, it is an unnecessarily fussy place. "I like the Dorchester very much," Gorbachev says as he enters, "it is just like an English person's country house." Which makes me wonder whose house he could possibly have stayed in.

He gives me a vigorous hand-shake sandwich then eases himself into a sofa at one end of the room. "Ah," he sighs sinking into the upholstery, "I feel just like a Persian Shah."

Discreet dark suit, pale shirt, reticent tie, he's been out of power for five years now but he still wouldn't look out of place in a Kremlin line-up. He's fatter than he appears on television, with a definite double chin that circumnavigates his whole face and forces his features inwards to cluster around his nose. His hands are enormous and fleshy, his hair now white, the trademark red blotch like a dark red egg yolk someone has smashed on his skull and left in mid-dribble.

Does it bother him? "For many years it wasn't visible because I had hair, I've never been upset by it," he smiles. I grin back. Gorbachev is here, I can hardly believe it. A man who changed the world, now touring his Memoirs in a hotel basement.

Thirty seconds pass during which his entourage stand around as he vigorously re-arranges the cushions. Finally, he beckons to Faleschenko who quickly cries out with alarm. "He'd prefer a chair," Mr Gorbachev says he would prefer a chair!

"A chair, a chair!" shouts an aide in a brown suit.

"A chair, quickly, a chair," calls the girl from the publishers, throwing down her nubuck briefcase and strutting over on an obstructive coffee table. Gorbachev springs up and spreads himself across the coffee table which he tries to manoeuvre out of her way. The girl looks horrified, Faleschenko pushes him back and wrestles the chair from her. It seems to take an age but eventually Gorbachev sits down and accepts a cup of coffee. "Sugar for Mr Gorbachev?" cries Faleschenko unhelpfully, also sitting. The president swivels obediently and stares into the camera.

So what have you been up to since you arrived, I ask, as the photographer tries to remove the coffee cup and Gorbachev grubs it back. "Only peaceful activities," he grins. "Last night I was in Oxford. Whenever I come to this country I feel I must go to Oxford, it's such a wonderful town."

And what about when he's at home, what does an ex-president



'Utopia is for fairy tales'... Mikhail Gorbachev

PHOTOGRAPH: EAMONN MCCABE

of the Soviet Union do all day? He thinks, "I think," he says.

It is a peculiarly Russian answer and not one I would expect from a British leader. What does he think about? "I think about what's happened in the past and I think about the future. I write and I also travel a great deal across Russia."

Yes, but which does he enjoy doing the most? "It may sound strange but I like all of it. I like walking near my country house, I manage around six kilometres an hour in my jogging suit! I also like to spend time with my granddaughters and with just me and Mrs Gorbachev. We have a lot to discuss." He stops for a burst of coffee. "You know, I like life!"

I have no reason to disbelieve him. Smiles spill frequently from his lips, but something happens to ex-leaders. It happened to Thatcher and Reagan. The loss of office sucks the essence out of them. Without it they are gone, their very centre disappears. The same has happened to Gorbachev. There is no one less powerful than a president deposed and you can see the hurt. It throbs through him.

Still, he is pleasant and charm-

ing and only once does he get visibly annoyed, when I ask him the size of his pension. "Ahhh," he growls in one ear as Faleschenko starts translating the growl simultaneously in the other.

"Ahhh, we've had a very difficult situation, Mr Gaidar's reforms destroyed my savings."

"My pension initially was set at 1,500 roubles a month!" At this, the man in the brown suit creeps up and appears to correct him. Gorbachev nods. "Er... actually it was set at 4,000 roubles a month, but despite inflation, we forgot about it until 1994, when it was worth... Well, guess how much it was worth in dollars?"

I shake my head. "Two dollars!"

Two dollars! That was my pension! Mr Gorbachev, the former head of state on two dollars? So I began to travel and give several lectures, but the most important thing for my livelihood is book-fee." He leans across the table and slaps my copy of his copiously recorded 700-page Memoirs. "It's not a secret, I made £1 million from my publisher. So now I can say I and my family are well provided for."

I confess I'm astonished at the paucity of his pension and wonder how he coped with so public a loss of status? "For me, power was not an obsession, it wasn't a ruling passion that captured all of my-

self. I really feel that a fully fledged life began for me after being in power."

What does he mean, fully fledged? "I mean freedom. I have freedom to think, to move around, to have contact with all kinds of people. Real freedom, something I have always wanted. The system did not make me a robot!"

But doesn't he feel bitter that he's just been tossed aside? "Look at the French Revolution, look at Danton and Robespierre," he cries. "One day the people bear Robespierre aloft then the next day they vote to execute him!"

Prime Minister Andreotti once asked Raisa this very question, he said: "Why didn't your husband see there were traitors around him?" And she said, "My Prime Minister, you are a religious man, you know the Bible, tell me, how did it happen that Jesus never saw Judas?" I'm still mulling over this comparison with Christ when he nudges me and says solemnly, "Hey, Andreotti thought that was a very good reply!"

The Russians have given Gorbachev their own reply — a derisory 0.5 per cent voted for him in last summer's elections. But how does he think history will remember him?

"Gorbachev was a good man," he says with a dark intensity. "He wanted his people to be free, he

wanted to open his country, he wanted to avoid war."

Is he still a communist? There is a long pause. "I have done a lot of thinking about this and I have come to the conclusion that a Utopian model of social development was imposed on Russia and Utopia is for fairy tales." How would he describe his own political convictions now? "I think I'm a social democrat," and I suddenly notice a gold tooth winking at me from his lower jaw. "Freedom and democracy are the key."

On the morning we meet, the news has broken of Bob Dole's former-mistress and I wonder what Gorbachev makes of the American campaign. "You can't astonish me with this kind of thing," he snorts. "My country is knee deep in sleaze!" What does he think of Bill Clinton? "He's changed, he's learned quickly. If he wins, his second term will be very different. You won't squeeze out any more from me on this subject."

He is similarly uncommunicative on which foreign leaders he admired most, so I throw in religion. Does he pray? "Niet." Does he believe in anything? "The cosmos." The cosmos? "There is something very important out there that we still don't know about." What sort of thing? "Just something."

What about marriage then, how

have he and Raisa managed to tot up 43 years together? "Love, Joanna, is like a good song and it's not easy to compose a song. I think marriages from student years are always very good — they're based on personal affection."

There is a brief silence. "Fate has been good to me," he remarks, embarking on a paragraph I suspect he has trotted out before. "Yes, despite all the ordeals and difficult experiences I was a child whom my mother and father loved, my grandparents also loved me, I was their favourite and I never forgot where I came from. I'm proud of that." I jot it down and he nods, pleased. "This is a good note to end on, no?"

As I get up to leave, I turn round and to my astonishment see several huge men who have managed to creep into the room without my noticing. It feels rather sinister and I'm relieved to grope my way to the foyer and spot Raisa hovering briefly on the hotel steps, a tiny woman of almost Nancy Reaganesque proportions. Dressed in a beige cotton suit topped off with a jaunty necktie, she waves hurriedly before sliding into the Daimler. And then they are off, speeding down Park Lane in a convoy of Land Rovers to make "a personal appearance" at the Knightsbridge citadel of Harrods.

There is no one less powerful than a president deposed and you can see the hurt. It throbs through him

JEREMY HARDY



PJ, PC and the eternal archaic Mail chauvinists

THE TERRIBLE thing about the Daily Mail, and the thing that makes it far more dangerous than the Sun, is that its readers think it's a proper newspaper. People who buy the Sun know it's rubbish. People who buy the Mail think its tabloid shape is an accident.

Almost every opinion piece in the paper is entitled "What on earth is going on?" And you can guarantee that if an obscure reactionary think-tank or Tory backwash were to announce that wooden men were responsible for the loss of the Empire, one of the Mail's zealots would proclaim the next morning: "Thank God somebody has had the courage to speak out at last."

So it is not surprising that the Mail is in the vanguard of the movement to draw our country backwards. It is the perfect expression of the vague and paranoid feeling that Everything Has Gone Too Far. And the greatest weapon in its armoury is the myth of political correctness.

Paul Johnson, whose column should have the words "Paul Johnson is unwell" printed permanently beneath it, this week fulminated against the perfectly amiable *Historic Statement of Values in Education and the Community*.

He complained that every interest group was represented among the 150-strong forum. For it is now an established notion that society is comprised of political lobbies: the gay lobby, the black lobby, the feminist lobby and so on. And despite the discrimination that exists at every level of society, we are invited to believe that public policy, the media and the arts are entirely dominated by these "powerful" lobbies.

When the Establishment is feeling especially hunted, its members will ever accuse single-issue campaigns of being "well-orchestrated and well-organised". The rallying cry of the Left has for hundreds of years been: "I thought you were bringing the leaflets"; but now we are accused of organisational flash-

If those who claim they are rolling back the frontiers of political correctness have interpreted history accurately, at an unspecified point in the 1980s, the Left took over the world. Reagan and Thatcher were firmly in power, the arms trade was booming, mass unemployment became the main tool of government policy, and yet, insidiously, black lesbian Trotskyists were filling every position of authority.

So now we have Andrew Neil, claiming to be anti-establishment. A man who edited the Sunday Times when it defamed as a prostitute a woman who witnessed the Gibraltar shootings, a man who threw all the energies of that paper into vindicating the SAS, the government and British intelligence, wants us to believe he's a liberal on the side of the powers-that-be.

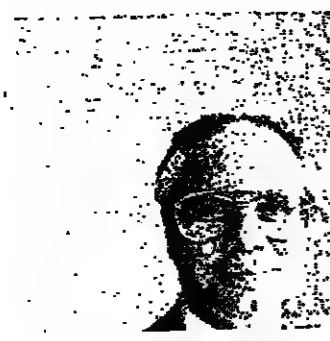
Bigots now use the euphemism "politically incorrect" — as in: "I suppose I'm not allowed to call them coons any more because it's politically incorrect." Commentators who say or write things which

are snobbish, misogynist, racist or anti-gay, are praised for being outrageous, refreshing, mischievous, even honest.

And of course, irony is the great escape clause for those who want-

Without our black sportspeople, we would be forced to turn up at the Olympics with a note from our mum

limited effect that political correctness has had upon our language. It is not surprising that our society stereotypes black people as being athletic. Without our black sportspeople, we would have to turn up at the Olympics with a note from our mum. But Gladiators shares with boxing not only the ethos that battering the hell out of each other is a good thing but also the practice of nicknaming black people in such a way as to remind the spectator that they are black. Given that few white people are now amazed to see a black person on television, it can hardly be argued that such nicknames are an innocent acknowledgement of ethnic diversity. Nigel Benn is dubbed the Dark Destroyer to imply that, being of dark skin, he's just that bit more scary. And I notice that black Gladiators are called things like Nightsshade, Saracen and Shadow. If these titles merely represent a recognition of their colour, then why are their white colleagues not called Tippy-Bo, Mille-Bottle or Pasty-Face?



Still cold comfort for tourists in the world's coolest city

SUNDAY: There's a gruesome kind of pleasure in watching the tourists pour off the Eurostar at Waterloo to spend time in 'the world's coolest city' (c) Newsweek. If they walk outside the station, they see a desperate, blighted townscape which would demean Sarajevo. If they take the tube, they are handed a leaflet saying that the southern part of the Bakerloo line will be closed for eight months, making West End traffic worse, if that's possible. High winds blow litter in their faces as they stride towards super-cool British attractions, such as McDonald's, balsa wood pizza stalls, rancid hamburger stands, and quite nice restaurants which would charge them £70 for lunch if they could get in, which they can't because they're full. Does anyone believe this nonsense? Do any tourists go home pleased with their holiday, or just resentful at having a lousy time for a lot of money? We Londoners are pathetically clinging on to imagined glories, like Toshiba-box dwellers plucking at sleeves, saying: "I used to buy a Rolls-Royce, you know. Want to buy a Big Issue?"

MONDAY: Lunch with a friend who has seen a lot of Sir James

Goldsmith lately. He bears bad news; Goldsmith's close associate, the sinister economist Alan Walters, has not even registered to vote. (Once I met Walters in Washington and asked where he lived: "I detest being near to poor people," he said. "So we took a map and worked out that Georgetown was furthest away from the poor people." all delivered in his hypnotic, Old Mother Riley bleat.) Apparently he leaves such trivia as voting up to his wife, and she's American, so can't even register. I gather Goldsmith has two lists of Tory MPs he will protect: those who are in favour of a referendum, and those who are so right-wing that they almost approach his own crazed views. They will learn who they are just before the election. Meanwhile, the Tory high command is whispering that John Major will announce a referendum before the election but only after Goldsmith has spent all his fighting fund.

TUESDAY: To the Booker prize dinner, where I get a chance to sit for a while with Clare Short and her new-found son, Toby. I have another friend to whom the same thing happened a year or so ago, when an adopted baby appeared

out of the blue after 20-odd years. What's astonishing is the wonderful mutual passion between mother and son. It's far more powerful than anything I've ever seen, much more so than with people at the beginning of an ordinary love affair. It's not carnal, but it is intensely physical, as if

They had caning at my school and it never did me any harm. This was because I was never caned

all the lost kisses and hugs and strokes and intimacy have to be recouped at once. As Clare said: "It's like starting a wonderful new affair, knowing it will never go wrong."

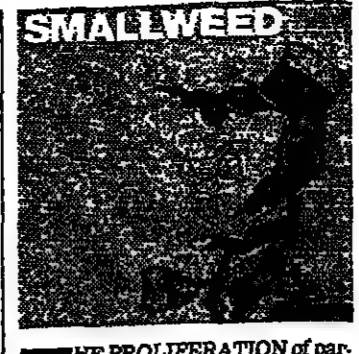
At the end, she gave me a big sloppy kiss and a cuddly hug. We don't know each other that well; she's just so blissfully happy that if she didn't share it around, she'd burst.

WEDNESDAY: They had caning at my first secondary school, in Hull, and it never did me any harm. This was because I was never caned, being a goody-goody from a secure home. Those who had been thrashed returned with bottom-tingling tales of the headmaster's collection, hidden under the sofa cushions: bamboo sticks, birch rods, and the fearsome spillover in stereo. I can't understand why discussion on this topic assumes that the cane either "works" for everyone or doesn't work at all. People like me covered because we were afraid of the pain and humiliation. For those from wrecked homes, and whose misbehaviour at school was a consequence, it probably made things worse. The notion that it would solve the social breakdown which has occurred at the Ridings school is cretinous.

THURSDAY: Splendid news for the world's coolest city: the Millennium Wheel is now to be built. Assuming it's not a bodged job, and falls into the Thames during a gale, it should become our Eiffel Tower and Empire State Building. At only a fiver a spin, it will be wonderful value as well. I see

that Jeremy Corbyn MP and Lord St John are opposed. I don't think we need to concern ourselves with what Mr Corbyn thinks about anything, but I do retain a lot of affection for Norman "St John" Stevas. We should point out to him, gently, that now the royal family are lost to us, we need something to bring in trusting tourists.

FRIDAY: Feedback on Radio 4 was largely devoted to the visiting American couple on the Archers. Vanessa Whitburn defended these absurd caricatures, though as an Anglophile, I thought them as offensive as if a black character were to say: "Yasuh, boss, ah sho' is glad to see yew!" What was most baffling was that they were played by real Americans, yet even the tiny details were wrong. For instance, the phrase "Kansas City, Kansas" was assumed to be hilarious to British ears, yet the actors didn't point out that the main Kansas City is in Missouri? I don't mean that Americans should be treated with exaggerated respect; merely that they should not be the victims of stereotypes which were embarrassingly dated when Conan Doyle used them.



THE PROLIFERATION of parties threatening to fight the next election is now getting out of hand. The Scargillites aim to outflank New Labour on the left (not too difficult, some might say) while the Reformist Party under Sir Oliver Goldsmith, grocer extraordinaire and author of He Stoops To Conquer, competes for the votes of hardline Eurosceptics with the UK Independence lot, under the ripely-cold leadership of Dr Sikes. And now it's reported that someone is planning a Shooters' Party. It's rather surprising, after John Major blathered against corporal punishment, that we haven't yet seen some breakaway group planning to stand on caning. There are certainly hordes of Tory supporters who, given the choice, would rate the Corporal well ahead of the Major.

Maybe they will merely content themselves with creating some kind of meeting point: a Chenevix-Trench Society, perhaps. But given the way these causes are treated by many on the right, I wouldn't entirely rule out the emergence of a Birch 'n' Leaf Party, based on support for both Corporal Punishment and his brother, Capital. Which might find itself embroiled before long in merger talks with the Shooters.

SEEK the euphonious Councillor Nimrod Ping, who figured in these columns a while ago, may stand for parliament in what used to be called the Labour interest. I am asked by a correspondent whether this would make him the first in a thousand generations of Pings to become an MP; also whether the election of a member called Nimrod would qualify as a first. My answer to both these queries is clear and unequivocal: I haven't the slightest idea. But I guess there is someone out there even more fanatically attached to such information than I am who may be able to help. Meanwhile, I can certainly say without fear of contradiction that a turn of the century member called Newdigate changed his name to Newdigate-Newdigate, a precedent that stands to this day.

YET another candidate is being pushed forward for the role of Jack the Ripper. The November edition of Harper's contains an extract from a book by Richard Wallace, a child psychiatrist, proving beyond peradventure that the guilty party was Lewis Carroll. He derives this conclusion from coded messages contained in Carroll's writings. The opening of Jabberwocky, for instance, is founded on a series of anagrams reflecting the author's morbid preoccupations. Decoded, it reads: "Bet I beat my glands till / With hand-sword, I slay the evil gender / A slimy theme; borrow gloves, / and masturbate the hog more!" A sequence from chapter XI of Wonderland contains a hidden message: "We plot how to kill dirty women, knife to throat... I'll find one street whore, you know what will happen! Twill be 'Oif with her head!" There are several more equally irrefutable proofs, most of them unrepeatable. And no more far-fetched, may I say, than some of the work which shows Shakespeare was written by Bacon.

DAVID GINOLA's wonderful goal for Newcastle against Ferencváros, which I heard a BBC reporter the next afternoon equating as a great work of art with the Stabat Mater of Pergolesi, came a trace too late for Michael Henderson of the Times, who had he known what was coming might well not have written the previous weekend of this player: "No one needs reminding that he [Ginola] kneels at the shrine of Theopis... the English are not greatly impressed by second-rate boulevardiers."

I can't by the way understand why so much time has been spent debating whether Glenn Hoddle should drop Gazza for the match with Georgia; and if so, whether he shouldn't also logically drop a host of other malfactors. I shall cut through this whole controversy at a stroke with a simple suggestion. Hoddle should pick for this and all other matches an England team composed entirely of saints. I do not mean by this selecting Southampton *en bloc* (Southampton are known as the Saints) since their team-sheet shows that they're currently sporting players called Lundekvam, Van Gobel, Ostenstadt and Berkovic, all of whom I take to be foreign.

Every one of the side which I recommend is qualified to appear for England (except perhaps in some cases in terms of ability). Here is my line-up: James (Liverpool), Charles (Villa), Martin (Oxford), Daniel (Walsall); Thomas (Liverpool), Matthew (Burnley), Gilbert (West Bromwich Albion), Otto (Charlton); Joachim (Villa), Fernando (Newcastle) and Francis (Birmingham City); Suber (Preston), Bishop (West Ham), Dean (Bournemouth), Archdeacon (Carlisle), Prior (Leicester C), Priest (Chester) and Angel (Oxford). They would play in the formation favoured by Hoddle, with three defenders and two winged-backs. I concede at once that this side may have problems in central defence, since Alvin Martin, though playing as well as ever, must by now be 73. Unfortunately the talented Newcastle defender Albert appears to be foreign as well. Some may find the unknown Pope of Crewe a surprising selection; but sources at Cresty Road tell me that he's infallible.

Staking their claims

What are the moral duties of business? To care for the world, or simply to make profit? In a vigorous exchange of letters, Anita Roddick of the Body Shop and Sir Stanley Kaimes of Dixons spectacularly fail to agree

Dear Sir Stanley, WE'RE both entrepreneurs who speak our minds. One thing that entrepreneurs surely have in common is a vision of the future yet the views you recently published on stakeholding, which you called "hand-holding", demonstrate a distinct lack of vision. When you say consultants and financial commentators are over-rated and British business is weak on design, I agree with you. So how come we disagree so fundamentally about the future? I think the principal difference between us is that I've seen the future and it frightens the life out of me, whereas you have seen the past and it still frightens the life out of you. What do I mean? You're locked into the battle between the entrepreneurial market economy and bureaucratic collectivism. That was won in the seventies and early eighties by big business. The upcoming skirmishes will concern how benign

and responsible the victors are prepared to be. When I look at the behaviour of multinationals, that's what scares me. If you are an unqualified supporter of unfettered free trade, then I have a problem with that. We clearly differ on the social role of business and, as business leaders, we have a powerful voice. So I have some questions for you. What lessons would you pass on to young managers? You recently said, "Don't get stuck in the office." Absolutely! But what does that mean to you? To me, journeying provides insights. I get a clear dose of reality from getting out of my comfort zone and into the ways and means of those who are marginalised in the world. You have said that what makes you happy is seeing the company's prosperity trickle down to employees. I have a broader vision: our employees want to participate in social change to give their work more meaning. That's what makes me happy when I see employees involved, when the connection between life and work appears seamless. Is your apparently money-



based view of business really so narrow? Anita Roddick, OBE Founder and Chief Executive, The Body Shop

Dear Anita, WOW! You have me on the back foot immediately. You claim foresight and allow me only hindsight. Perhaps you're right; I can't even forecast next week's turnover.

On the other hand my tribe goes back several thousand years and we have accumulated quite a lot of carefully documented wisdom. So I start from a sound ethical base — age-old values and proven rules of social obligation. No need to make them up on the hoof — instant ethics can be tiresome. Your paranoia about the multinationals is intriguing. After all, the Body Shop is one — as are Dixons in a small way. What is your beef? I guess it might be something to do with using natural resources. If it is, let me declare an interest. Frankly, I need my daily fix of 10 litres of petrol — even your alluring offer of coconut shaving cream would be an inadequate alternative. Does the greater good versus the lesser evil argument have any appeal to you? It is reassuring that "journeying" gets you closer to reality. The jungle ought to have taught you something — the market economy at its purest, no offsetting state or bureaucratic nanny-ing... a natural balance. Have you any plans for changing it? At Dixons we do it differently. Our writ runs to paying our staff on a Friday afternoon. "Life and work seamless" — that is truly nonsense. Our role is to create the means, not impose the ends.

Anita, our differences may not be so sharp but I can't tell from your scattered thoughts. I believe in a focused, rational approach in which man has it within himself to improve. But it needs a reasoned acceptance of the real world. Might I suggest to you that Margaret Thatcher would be a better role model than Don Quixote. Yours ever, Stanley Kaimes Chairman, Dixons

Dear Sir Stanley, NOW I know where you're coming from. I'm the irrational female imposing my world view on employees, ignorant of how markets work. But you seem to know the price of everything and the value of nothing. Have you the remotest idea of the human costs of your petrol addiction? Next weekend is the first anniversary of the "judicial murder" of Ken Saro-Wiwa by the Nigerian dictatorship for protesting the environmental destruction of their lands by Shell. Understand, every time you fill the company car at a Shell station the real price is not paid by your chauffeur.

One thing impressed me in your letter — your reflection on ancient wisdom. The sad thing is you don't seem to have absorbed much. I too have the deepest respect for the ancient tribes of Israel, aboriginal peoples and native Americans. They taught me the importance of living in harmony with nature and care for future generations. A recent Environmental Investigation Agency report catalogued the rape of native forests by monopolistic multinationals like Mitsubishi, Hyundai and Georgia Pacific. Virtually all logging for export in India, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and the Philippines is illegal. That's the jungle law of the

free market — monopolistic and illegal. Happily, the Body Shop stakeholders share my concerns. We know because we surveyed them last year. Why don't you ask your staff what they think (always assuming they're employed by you for longer than a week)? Yours, Anita Roddick

Dear Sir Stanley, PS By the way, unlike Mrs Thatcher, I believe there is an alternative, so we don't tilt at windmills, we invest in them!

Dear Anita, YOUR opening attempt at self-analysis is remarkably precise. To get closer to your wavelength, I have read a copy of your 1996 accounts — somewhat arch and pretentious, presumably to disguise a rather poor performance. You boast of travelling around the world 17 times in one year (all expenses paid, in a fuel-hungry aeroplane?) perhaps non-stop, considering the incoherence of your letter.

Your attempt to monopolise the "touring" market fails. I also care but in an ordered and studied manner, not merely based on public relations geared to selling my products. The random lumping together of cultural heritage, be it Jewish, aboriginal, or native American, in support of your arrogant posture shows an offensive and appalling ignorance of the distinctive nature of separate beliefs. Your clichéd response is disappointing, albeit predictable. Let me pose you a quiet question — can't you accept that your frenetic, self-righteous approach may not always be the best way to draw attention to issues that actually concern us all? By the way, you tell us in your

accounts that you have been trying to amuse your board for 20 years. Having read your jibes at me, I can understand your lack of success. Anita, in your next response, let's have some constructive comments and no more edicts telling us all to give up motor cars. Yours ever, Stanley

Dear Sir Stanley,

OH DEAR — I'm not going to play that little boys' game of "mine's bigger than yours", but the Body Shop's most recent advertisement for international retailers in 46 countries — same brand, shared values. But as abuse came so readily to a man of such rabid clarity, let's have some (clarity, that is). Business innovation is no longer just about product. It's about the very role of business itself. You may not like it but the importance of stakeholders and the vigilante consumer grows every day.

Customers are looking behind the label for answers to questions you don't even recognise. One day your customers will pass by — to competitors who care about people and issues impacted by their business. This isn't fringe. Prince Charles, the Church and even the TUC challenge business leaders like you and me. As John Monks said recently, "There is no point in teaching moral purposes at schools when there is inequity and lack of moral purpose in the workplace."

He's right, and you know it. You have the last word here but definitely not on new business vision. How will you use your last words? More macho, retro-posturing, or will you focus on the real world — the one shared by Unilever, Co-op Bank, Nat West and BT, who resist the stakeholder challenge and welcome the debate it creates about their broader social role? Yes or no, Stanley? Yours, Anita Roddick

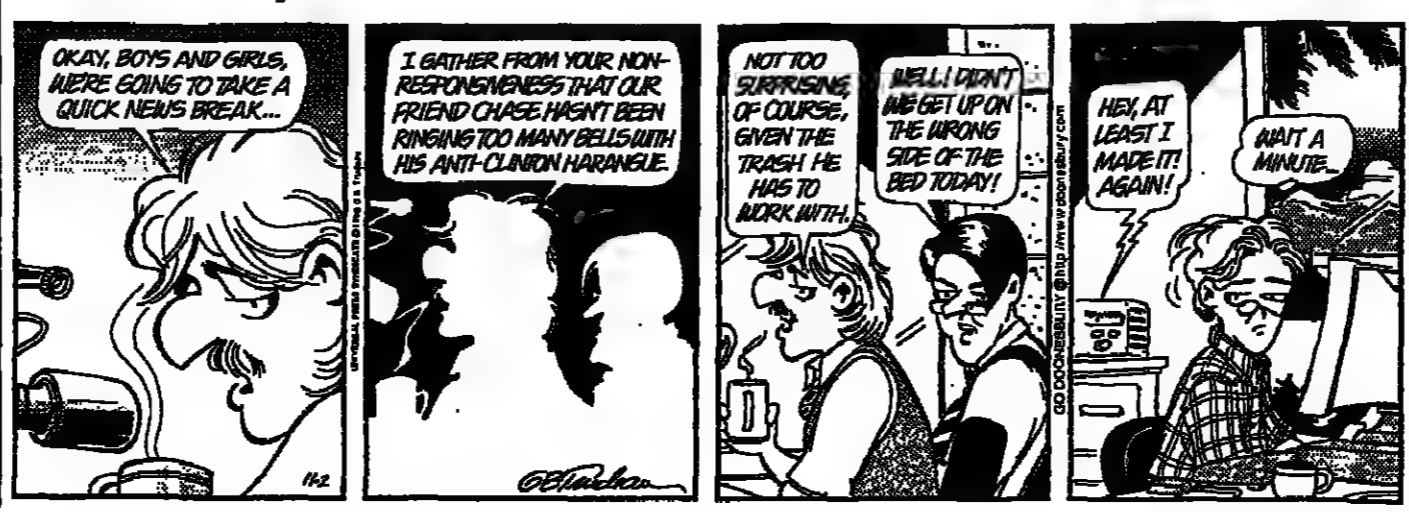
Dear Anita,

YOU ask for clarity and I'm happy to oblige. Your failure to view stakeholding with any discrimination is indicative of the lack of coherence you bring to the debate. You are a master of the broad and sweeping generalisation. We are asked to believe that everyone, be they Jews, aborigines, Indians, churchmen, trade unionists, even the Prince of Wales, is in agreement with your views — an intellectual promiscuity one can only describe as breathtaking.

You can only claim blanket endorsement of your position because you never spell it out. The problem with stakeholding is that it means everything and nothing. It is a buzzword with no definition. One interpretation of stakeholding involves a massive increase in legislative control: heavy-handed bureaucrats stifling the entrepreneur. Is this what you want? Key exponents of stakeholding would force all company chief executives to retire after a maximum eight years; you have been in your job since 1976.

At Dixons we are not governed by abstract theories but simple common sense. I'm passionately concerned about my employees; they share in our success. In the final analysis, the consumer is king and we have millions of satisfied customers. After almost 30 years in business, I am now told I've got it all wrong. I am labelled a cynical totem of the business establishment. You ignore the empirical evidence and, like some fevered tele-evangelist, tell me I must convert to stakeholding. I must decline your invitation. Although I too have vision, I am an idealist without illusions. Yours ever, Stanley

Doonesbury



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Rage inside the Ivory tower

Rage inside the ivory tower

It is open warfare at a top private school after poor league table results. **Jim White reports**

THE RUGBY pitches laid out along College Lawn look lush and splendid, smooth as a billiard table. Beyond them, the cricket square, roped off for the winter, lies in the shadow of a vast Victorian pavilion, a sort of junior St Paul's station. Brooding over everything, at the top of the fields, is a muscular Gothic hall, the motto "Labor vincit omnia" cut into the stonework over its huge oak doors: Work Conquers Everything.

These are architectural metaphors for what Cheltenham College offers to the world: stability, tradition and prestige. These were the qualities that attracted Lindsay Anderson to use the place as the backdrop to his 1968 film *If...* In the chaotic climax of that film, its star, Malcolm McDowell, raided the Combined Cadet Force stores and machine-gunned the entire governing body at speech day. Now, nearly 30 years on, the word echoing around the drafty quads and high-ceilinged halls of Cheltenham College is once more Revolution.

From the outside the buildings suggest this is all one could wish for in a school. Yet, over the past three weeks parents have discovered that, for all the privileges it bestows, one thing which paying £4,320 a term out of taxed income does not guarantee is a say in how the school is run. And they are furious. In a town which has become a synonym for a certain brand of English conservatism, radical action is being demanded.

The problem began on October 11, a Friday, immediately after a grand service to mark the centenary of the school chapel. With a sense of timing and tact, the parents claim, is characteristic, Nigel Farrow, president of the governing council, sought out the headmaster, Peter Wilkes, and fired him.

The problem was, Farrow told him, the college's position in the

Daily Telegraph national school league tables. After the last round of A-level results, College, as everyone calls it, had dropped from 147th place to 205th, relegating it to the third division. In an increasingly competitive marketplace, when prospective parents choose schools by addressing the league tables, such a decline, Farrow suggested, could not be tolerated.

There was another thing. While Wilkes might be a dedicated schoolmaster — Farrow went further, calling him "brilliant" — that was not only what was needed. Nowadays the college required a businessman, a chief executive, to head its "dynamic business plan for the 21st century". At the following school assembly, Wilkes informed the pupils he was to leave at the end of the academic year. It was not his choice, was the euphemism he used.

Within minutes, pupils were on the phone to parents. Within seconds, parents were on the phone to each other. "We couldn't understand what was going on," says Celia Hicks Beach, whose son Freddie, 15, is in the GCSE year. "We thought there could be no smoke without fire. Which was Wilkes siddling the books or boys?"

The next day a photo-copied letter was sent by Farrow to all parents, its brusque three paragraphs giving nothing away of the decision to drop the pilot. Gradually parents began talking, gossiping, using whatever contacts with the governing body they had to scratch out information. And what they discovered was that there was absolutely no suggestion of impropriety on the part of the sacked head teacher. Like a football club manager, he had gone simply because of league results.

What none of the parents could understand was the summariness of the dismissal. As far as they were concerned Wilkes was a fine headmaster: open, helpful, courteous, respected by all the pupils, responsible for engendering an atmosphere in the school widely described as remarkable. "Whenever you picked up the phone to call someone in the Common Room to talk through a problem, you found them immensely helpful," says Keith Douglas, whose daughter is in the lower sixth. "You know why this was — all institutions take their lead from the head."

In 1994 the last Headmasters Conference inspection report on Cheltenham was full of praise, littered with phrases like: "the unanimity of positive impressions gathered is striking"; "real excellence in many areas is not hard to find"; and "all abilities are catered for so that each pupil achieves his or her own best standard."

Indeed, this year the college earned the highest GCSE results in its history.



"If things have slipped," says Mark Hicks Beach, Freddie's father, "then surely you get involved, talk to the headmaster, talk to the heads of department, sort it out. You don't sack a man who has the respect of every parent and member of the common room."

Parents were particularly incensed when Air Commodore Atherton, secretary to the governing council, was quoted on the local television news mocking parents for "behaving as though they were our customers."

On October 25 Mr Hicks Beach coordinated a parents meeting in the school hall. "I'm not normally like this," he says. "I don't usually even turn up for parents' day. I pay my fees and expect them to get on with the job. But it seemed to me in this instance, they just weren't doing the job."

At the climax of *If...* Malcolm McDowell machine-gunned the entire governing body. The word around Cheltenham College once more is Revolution

Turning the tables: Malcolm McDowell and Christine Noonan in *If...* Below, the leafy quad of Cheltenham College today



meeting. The other two dozen closed ranks around the president, unwilling to talk to the press.

Significantly, only one member of council has a pupil at the school. The rest are largely businessmen (Sir Michael Parry, the former chairman of Unilever, is one), former servicemen (Gen Sir John Walters, former deputy Supreme Commander of Allied Forces Europe is another) or educational professionals (Hugh Wright, chief master of King Edward's School, Birmingham, is a third). There is, therefore, no input from the consumers. Nor, unlike state schools, is there any legal requirement for there to be so.

In the absence of any candid statement from the governors (when contacted they preferred to hide behind talk of confidentiality) it is possible only to surmise their position. But it seems to be this: Peter Wilkes was prepared to take pupils of lesser ability and help them develop; the governing body was anxious for a sharper selection procedure to push the school up the league tables.

In short, with the extra competitive light shed by tables (and the huge glare thrown by the academic success of Cheltenham Ladies' College over the road) the governors took the view that there is no commercial place for a school which is happy to cater for Tim Niece-But-Dim.

"Basically they wanted to cull the children who were only going to get C and D at A-level," said one parent. "It seems to me they regard the whole purpose of A levels as being a method to better the reputation of the school rather than honing the potential of the children of fee-paying parents. The council keep wittering on about the 21st century."

"Parents are not paying £12,000 a year for that. We are paying for this year and next. Surely as a customer we have the right to respond to important decisions and to have our views respected."

Indeed if there is a business strategy at work in Cheltenham, it appears to be a thoroughly British one: the pursuit of staying viable in a new market, you lose

sight of your existing one. At the moment the distance between the two parties seems insurmountable. Last Tuesday, the school council held a meeting and decided that none of its members would resign and, despite parental opposition, the decision to sack Wilkes stood.

"The attempt to force us to resign is constitutionally and practically deft, says one member of council who declined to speak on the record. "Besides what can they do?"

This is the rub: ultimately, parents only have one sanction as consumers, removing their children. But most would be loath to disrupt their education by transferring them mid-stream.

"Well, no, we do have some power," says Keith Douglas. "The governors should remember that the greatest ambassadors for colleges are the parents. When someone makes a decision about choosing a school, they might well look at the league tables, but they will also talk to parents and ask them what the place is like."

With no movement on either side, when the college resumes after half-term next Monday it will do so in an atmosphere heavy with resentment. And at the centre of an unholy row which is all over the local press at a time when parents are registering their children for public schools.

"It worries us greatly that this issue may be damaging College," says Keith Douglas. "But at the same time we are not going to give in. We believe they have treated us with contempt. Council has created this situation and they must resolve it."



Mum's no longer the word, sadly



Jon Snow, left, should watch out, Henry Porter says. He's nobody's favourite son after criticising his mother when she was down



'He should, perhaps, attack the age and not the individual'

"SELF-INDULGENCE has gained the upper hand over decency," Tom Snow said in a letter to the Guardian last week about his brother Jon Snow's contribution to a collection called Mothers and Sons.

Although we have no knowledge of relations between the Snow brothers, it is difficult to disagree with this judgment when you learn that their mother lies in a hospital with Alzheimer's disease, and that a huge part of Snow's chapter is spent explaining his own failings by a careful description of her. The first question is why Snow, a highly-respected and successful broadcaster, has not waited until his mother's death before publish-

ing. His two brothers have equal shares in Mrs Snow and yet he has made a pre-emptive strike from the position of his celebrity to fix his mother's reputation in the eyes of the world. However well-written and touching his essay may seem, it is still at base an act of compelling egotism.

But perhaps we should not be surprised because the whole drive of modern psychotherapy and counselling has been to encourage people to shift responsibility for their own lives to their parents. We are taught that the only true way to grow up is to renounce their influence and to see ourselves in a state of permanent recovery from the parental yoke. This instinct was seen in Jonathan Dibdin's biography of

Prince Charles, who complained about the absence of physical affection in his childhood and his early dispatch to boarding school. These things, he implied, explained his difficulty in forming close relationships as an adult. Physical affection between parents and children is crucially important, and the idea of sending small boys to boarding school outmoded and foolish, but the spectacle of these successful and privileged middle-aged men pleading for our sympathy is really too much to bear.

They both demonstrate precisely the opposite of what the therapists insist is achieved by this type of confession. Rather than forgetting the distress and imagined slights of childhood, they dwell on them to the point where everything — including their own coldness or simple failure to think of others — is their parents' fault. Thus they are arrested in a bleak state of pubescent complaint — neither adult nor child.

Perhaps I have been lucky in my parents since they gave me a sense of humour and optimism and also the palpable idea that they were not perfect and nor was I. This is one way for the generations to view each other. An alternative is for children to become impossibly self-centred and aggrieved, and their parents dreadfully hurt.

It is as much a question of tolerance and a realisation that being a parent is fraught with unimagined difficulties. Jon Snow surely understands now that at the time he was growing up, demonstrations of love between parents and children were far less common than today. He should, perhaps, attack the age and not the individual.

Obviously Snow had a much more miserable childhood than I experienced and so I find it difficult to condemn him outright. But there is another dislikeable aspect to this — the idea that to be open or honest about personal history signifies political integrity.

There is the sense of self-pity in Snow's description of his mother and a cloying demand for our attention, which I suspect has as much to do with his celebrity as anything that happened to him at Winchester Cathedral Choir School or at home. Plainly he feels that he never met his father's muscular expectations and was often the butt of his brothers' jokes. As we know, these things last into adulthood and propel people to success or failure. In Snow's case, it seems to be the former.

And yet he has lowered himself by giving an eerily dispassionate portrayal of the onset of his mother's dementia in which he has no regard whatsoever for her dignity. For the cause of that particular cruelty, Jon Snow should look nowhere but into himself.

arts



Making Monks of themselves

What is it with monks and showbiz? They're number one in Ireland while in Britain the Benedictines are hoping for a Christmas hit. But the story of the first frock 'n' roll superstars suggests they'd do better to take a vow of silence. **John de St Jorre** reports

sted from 87,000 in 1993 to 134,000 in 1994. Father Jose Luis Angulo, Silos's present choirmaster, says his patience is exhausted. Standing in Silos's magnificent double-tiered cloister, he points at the sculpted capitals. "They touch them and breathe all over them," he says in a tone suggesting sacrilege.

Reports began to filter back that Canto was being used in discos, even as background music for porn movies. The monks were sent a sample of EMI's marketing in the States. A flyer packaged with the CD urged, "Get your CHANT! Monk-Habit Brown Hooded Pull-over, Long-Sleeve 100% Cotton T-Shirt for only \$19.95". On the front was the word "CHANT", with "Angel", EMI's classical-music trademark, beneath. The marketing men had even got their colours mixed up, confusing Franciscan brown with Benedictine black.

That should perhaps give food for thought to the Benedictine brothers of Downside Abbey near Bath, who have just released an album of Gregorian chants called The Abbey and to the monks of Glenstal Abbey in Ireland, whose Faith Of Our Fathers is now sitting at the top of the Irish charts.

The Silos monks began to resent what they saw as crass commercialism. A media trip to the monastery, organised by EMI in Madrid, was spoilt when the bus got lost and arrived too late for the sung mass, which was to have been the centrepiece of the outing. (The monks politely refused a request to re-run the ceremony.) For their part, many journalists lost interest in the monks when they discovered Princess Diana's brother was in their midst, working for an American TV crew.

Eager to follow up its success, EMI put out another Silos recording, Canto Noel, aiming for a second yuletide bonanza. The monks, who say they were not consulted, were dismayed to find more than half the pieces on the new CD were not Christmas chants at all, but belonged to the Easter liturgy. The misuse of sacred music purely to produce another holiday hit upset them more than anything else.

There has been endless speculation about Silos's earnings from its venture into pop. The newspaper El País reported that the monks received 100 million pesetas (about \$500,000) from EMI. Rafael Gil, until recently head of EMI in Spain, says that was "a wild guess" and too low, but would not be drawn on the true amount.

Esager Jose Luis says Silos virtually gave away its rights when the chant was first recorded. The rights to the material on the first disk of Canto Gregoriano, he said, were granted to Propaganda Popular Catolico, the non-profit-making Catholic organisation that helped make the recordings in the early seventies. The monks had a contract for the material on the second disc that yielded a small share (probably two to three per cent) of the wholesale price. Silos recordings put out later by EMI were based on the old contracts.

After the Canto Noel disappointment, Silos decided to try another recording company and signed a contract with the French firm Jade. Two new CDs, El Alma Del Canto and Ave Maria, have been released, using material that dates back as far as 1988, and several more are planned before the end of the year.

Despite Silos's deal with Jade, Rafael Gil insists EMI has a good relationship with Silos. The company has just released the second volume of The Best Works Of Gregorian Chant, and has an option on future recordings from the monastery, according to Gil. Father Jose Luis and his abbot, Father Clemente Serra, confirm that relations with EMI are equitable.

So where do the disaffected choirmasters fit in? Ismael Fernandes de la Cuesta and Francisco Lara, who have both left the monastery, claim they should have been heard for their artistic input into the chant recordings. While they accept that Gregorian chant itself is in the public domain, they believe their arrangements and direction played a vital role in the recordings' success.

The lawsuit could set an important precedent, says Clifton J Williams, director of the Sintonia music company's publishing division, who has been preparing the choirmasters' case. "We are dealing here with the whole area of traditional music where arrangers and musicians have never been paid for their work. It's all about intellectual property."

Gil, who headed EMI during Silos's success, will have none of that. "The choirmasters never claimed copyright 30 years ago when they made the recordings,"

Hey brother, give it some jcojones!

DEEP inside Santo Domingo de Silos is the music room, with its sophisticated sound system and cork-lined walls. It is here that the monks listen to their own music and the work of their "competitors". A cupboard houses two rows of Silos's CDs and cassettes, and gold discs hang everywhere.

Looking at all these trophies, the question begs to be asked: Why Silos? There were already many recordings of Gregorian chant on the market when its double-disc took off.

Silos's abbot, Father Clemente Serra, has a simple explanation: it was "one of God's little jokes". The true reason may be the lusty Spanish character. French Benedictines tend to sing in a sweet, almost effeminate way. German chant is usually more vigorous but less mysterious; and English chant is often marred by poor acoustics. Silos has marvellous acoustics and Spanish monks sing in a full-blooded way.

"They chant *con cojones*," comments the director of a British choral group. The phrase means "with balls".

he says. "The fact is, no arrangements are necessary. The chant is melodic: the voices sing the same song at the same pitch."

Until Canto Gregoriano, the sums involved in recording this kind of music were so small that no one thought it worthwhile challenging the record companies. But Silos's success has changed all that. With pop-star-levels of status and income involved, it is perhaps not surprising everyone wants a piece of the action.

Silos itself has escaped becoming embroiled in the lawsuit. But it has no shortage of other problems. The monastery has not made any new recordings since 1982; nor will it be able to do so without fresh blood. Only a handful of those who made the original recordings remain; the most prominent are Father Jose Luis and the abbot himself. The community's numbers are down from around 60 monks in the fifties and sixties to 38, several of whom are too old or unmusical to be in the choir. "We try to maintain the style," says Father Jose Luis, "but practise as so forth, but the raw material is not the same, the voices are old and rusty."

While the popularity of chant has greatly increased the number of visitors to Silos, it has yet to fill the empty cells. "For a vocation to be authentic," says Father Jose Luis, "it must be a lot more profound than fame. If someone comes for that reason, he doesn't last long. A lot of people come here to run away from something. That's no use. You have to come here in search of something."

El boom, as Father Jose Luis calls Silos's recording stardom, may eventually become a bust. But if a time comes when the monastery's choir sing only for themselves and those who stand before them in the chapel, they will at least have ensured chant's survival. They have popularised a form of music that traditionally had limited followings in Europe and the Americas and was virtually unknown elsewhere. Today, record stores around the world carry a broad range of Gregorian chant, from Benedictine monasteries, from church choirs, even from convents.

A SINGLE bell tolls across the frozen Castilian countryside. The lights go on in the monastery's chapel and two dozen black-robed monks enter in pairs, bow deeply to the altar and separate to take their places beside the chancel. This is the eighth and final time on this cold day that the monks sing together as they worship their god and celebrate their community.

The tourists are gone and the hotel guests, clustered in the front pews, are dwarfed by the towering nave. Father Jose Luis caresses the keys of the organ and the voices rise and fall. As the service ends, the monks leave their stalls, form pairs again, their hands folded under their robes, and, still chanting, walk down the central aisle. The lights dim and they leave the church by a side door that leads past the sepulchra of Santo Domingo into the medieval cloister. While the legal battle over their music continues in the courts of distant Madrid, these small, humble, holy, ordinary men go about their not-so-ordinary lives.

SHOOTING STARS



RISEING: JOSEPH MCFADDEN

Up... Plucked from school at the delicate age of 12 to be on TV amid tough life, eh? — the angelic laddie McFadden struts his stuff in Taggart, and passes six tartan-tinted years Taking The High Road.

Up... The insufficiently-trumpeted Small Faces, a gem of a film from Gillies and Billy Mackinnon, depicts the trials of two Glasgow brothers in the sixties. The elder sibling was Joseph McFadden.

Away... This Monday, BBC2 begins its dramatic series of Iain Banks's The Crow Road. McFadden plays Prentice McToon, whose search for his missing Uncle Rory unravels a 30-year family history and constitutes a spiritual voyage for the young hero. It's bound to be big: the brilliant, blackly comic Banks finally hits the screen, with a high-flying prodigy in the starring role.



FALLING: JASON DONOVAN

Down... Micro-stardom in Neighbours, mega-stardom in the world of cheesy teeny pop; macro-stardom in the West End revival of Joseph And His Uncommonly Garish Overcoat. Can anything spoil the delirious ascent of this blue-eyed Aussie idol?

Down... How's about suing The Face magazine to win an inch of its life? Irked at the playful inference that he possibly could be — whisper it — homosexual, the blonde crooner of Too Many Broken Hearts broke a bank balance or two (and incurred the wrath of his gay fans) in a nasty tiff with the style Bible.

Down... Leatherhead, 1996: Donovan relaunches his serious acting career. His crazed psycho in Emyln Williams's Night Must Fall gets a West End transfer. Surely, a second bite at celebrity looms? *Ez, no.* Reviled and lampooned by critics and audience alike — the independent called for a public inquiry — Jason's vehicle closes tonight, six weeks early.

IT COULD have been a fairy tale. A group of holy men whose lives are governed by the austere rules of St Benedict — prayer, work, silence and solitude — decide to share their music with people outside the monastery's walls. They make some recordings and the music sells slowly. Eventually they stop recording; their numbers are dwindling, their voices failing. No one seems interested in the monks or their music any more. Christianity in the on the defensive and monasticism is struggling to survive.

Then a miracle happens. A fairy godfather in a distant city takes some of their recordings, digitally remasters them and puts two shiny new discs in a box with an attractive cover. Suddenly, all over the world people of all ages, many of no religion, are buying the discs. Millions of copies are sold around the world, a pot of gold materialises, the church is full on Sundays and festivals, hundreds of thousands of people visit the monastery. There is talk of a religious revival and hopes of a new wave of monastic recruits.

There the fairy tale ends for the monks of Santo Domingo de Silos in central Spain. Their choir is in decline, their way of life has been threatened, and the choirmasters who directed and arranged Canto Gregoriano — Gregorian Chant — are suing their record company for millions of dollars.

At first, all seemed to go well. After releasing Canto Gregoriano in 1994, and seeing it become a huge Christmas hit with EMI, the monks agreed to put out more albums, again culled from their recording archive. Canto itself

sold more than six million copies. Then began the conflict between God and Mammon.

As the media and tens of thousands of tourists flocked to the monastery, the monks began to feel they were under siege. Paparazzi were found climbing trees, trying to snap the monks in their quarters. Requests for a share of the spoils poured in: for schools, for orphans, for the homeless, for the disabled, for cathedrals in need of restoration, even for people getting divorced with no place to live. Visitors to the monastery rock-

Elvis is gone, says Tom Hutchinson. Now can we please forget him?

The King is dead — let's get burying

Provocations

IN THE country of the deaf the one-note man is King — and it is a degrading experience, for those who are not hard of hearing, to live under such a monarch. So why don't we flush residual wax from our ears and proclaim a republic away from the memory of Elvis Presley?

For the burger-ballooned bulk considered regal, ray holy, by millions of worshippers — still reigns after death, a bloated icon of a trash culture that stalled rhythm 'n' blues in repetitive chords and lugubrious vocals.

Not so much King Tut as King Tut. In the way that Ringo Starr put drumming back pre-Gene Krupa, so Presley mixed his musical genre. He ain't nothing but a sound dog, relying more on visual appeal as his pelvic thrust itself around like loose chisels in a sack.

Celebrations for the 20th anniversary of his death loom. The Mississippi-born Tennessee strummer will be hailed by record re-issues, festivals of his movies, television analyses: a rag-to-riches story that resembles the spangles he so often sported — gilly at first but then rusted with the sweat of excess.

A forest of horrors to come is an American double CD-Rom called Virtual Graeland. Graeland is the vast mansion Presley occupied, a palatial necropolis outside which worshippers still genuflect. You thought Liberace was kitsch? Here are the garish interiors of fluffy retardation, where banality is made live and manifest. And this is the grail to which followers aspire.

Towards the end of his manipulated life, Presley looked like the living dead; now, zombie-like, he lurches among us as hundreds of Elvis imitators, the use of his name in baptisms, the absurd reports that he still lives somewhere, anywhere. At Easter we



might expect him to rise again. He lives as legend, but why? Contemporary fame is a strange thing that, too often, nails its subject to a media-constructed cross. This is what happened to Presley, "a white man with the voice of a black", who was bent and twisted by manager and agents into a peculiar, passionless sex-object, a role model for those who wouldn't know how to spell the words.

The Sunday Times 1,000 Makers Of Cinema describes him as "one of the most successful figures in the history of showbusiness" but doesn't attempt to explain why apart from noting that he was the survivor of twins, implying a doubly charged talent... or ego. It is hard to account for that success.

His voice was mediocre when compared with other hillbilly blues-belters, and his films — apart from Flaming Star — were dreadful to the point of melancholy.

After 1968 his career bombed in bits and pieces all over the place and, like other American headliners who get going when the going gets tough, he became reclusive, gorged hamburgers and drugs, and died in his fabulous bathroom: Howard Hughes in blue suede slippers. That bathroom, a throne-room legendarily ornamented with strange devices, is not shown on the CD-Rom.

Perhaps he still accumulates adoration because, unconsciously, he made himself an enigma and the ultimate dream of deliverance from the servitude of his class and his station in life. Buddy Holly had humour, but he started out nearer the top of a crapulous heap. He, too, died young but he is nowhere near the eerie presence that Elvis Presley still is. Presley's grip is that of a dead man's hand striven into rigor mortis. Let us break the clasping mediocrity that still damages what we listen to.

Feel sorry for him, certainly, but throw off adulation. He fed his appetites too obviously, like too many other royals. The only saving grace is that he started out with none of their privilege.

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Last Orders for Graham Swift

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Sweet Shop Owner	£ 6.99	£ 5.99
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Shuttlecock	£ 6.99	£ 5.99
Learning to Swim and Other Stories	£ 4.99	£ 4.99
Ever After	£ 5.99	£ 4.99
Waterland	£ 6.99	£ 5.99

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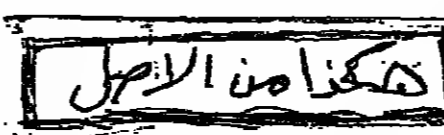
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The Guardian INTERACTIVE



CHANNEL SURFING STUART JEFFRIES

Sick telly syndrome

WHY must hospital dramas be so grim? Why NHS brave new era of sponsored programming...

In hospital drama, by sentimentality, "I feel so stupid," says the attempted suicide once they've pumped her stomach...



The Heaton's off: 'Even in an intimate venue, where you'd expect to feel an smoky oneness with them, they're the least riveting act since INXS'

Ziplless anoraks

Their new album may have screamed in at number one but The Beautiful South are lousy live, says Caroline Sullivan

The letdown

ASSOCIATES say that The Beautiful South's Paul Heaton takes a keen interest in clothes...

have rock stars that look and speak exactly like them. Fortunately they don't sing like them...

Charts making it 1996's top CD. Its success, Blue is The Colour, went into the chart number one...

Italian restaurant as far as the South are concerned, sex just isn't part of the act...

joined a band. How will she cope with Wembley Arena next spring?

WAVE RIDING ANNE KARP

Radio 4's new series Sensitive Women, about Victorian women "sensation" writers...

Radio 4's new series Sensitive Women, about Victorian women "sensation" writers...

Sex with Auntie

USED to think that there should be more sex on radio until I listened to Sex Lives (Radio 5 Live)...

David Edgar, on the other hand, last week lost himself a lecturer. His new radio play The Shipyard...

Michael Billington on a Death Of A Salesman that puts America on trial

Dream on, sucker

The classic

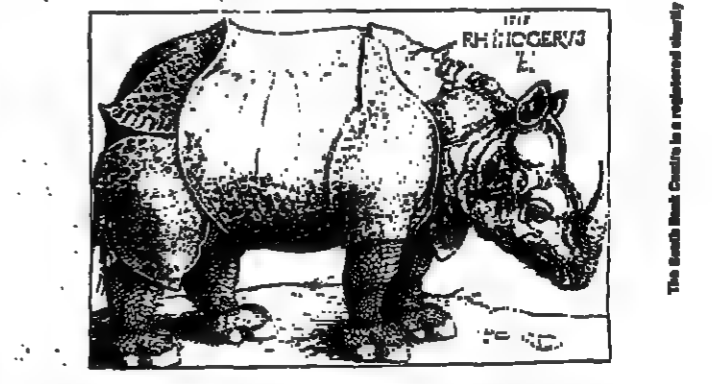
LESS OR truth? Dreams or reality? Which do we live by? It is the great question that resounds through modern American drama...



Hapless hero... Alan Armstrong as Willy, obsessed by 'the deal'

the look of a man who has driven too many miles for too many years in pursuit of a deal. The one element missing from his performance...

National Touring Exhibitions



The Age of Dürer

German Renaissance Prints from the British Museum. 1 November - 15 December. National Gallery of Scotland, The Mound, Edinburgh...



Last Weeks Mapplethorpe 19 September - 17 November 1996

Scaling the heights

Andrew Clements salutes a brave, if mixed, Ring

The vindication

THE last of the Royal Opera's three Ring cycles ends tonight, when Bernard Haitink conducts Götterdämmerung...

view of a world destroyed by Wotan's ruthless ambition, and those who are scandalised by its seeming irrelevance...

been created in susceptible minds was Jones sending the whole thing up and, more worryingly, sending up their own view of Walküre...

war period soon crossed over into opera, where they flourished and have become a lingua franca in a way that the straight theatre in this country at least has always resisted...

Newmarket with TV form

1.00 Palace 1.30 Princess of Hearts 2.05 How Long 2.40 AB-Royal 3.10 Shadow Lass 3.45 Delta Bell 4.15 QUEENIE (over)

1.00 NEW SPARK PLUGS SELLING STAKES 2YO 11 04.00

Table with race details for 1.00 New Spark Plugs Selling Stakes, listing horses like Apple Island, Belderrig, and Corsetta.

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2.05 BOUNTY FINANCIAL COLLECTORS CONDITIONS STAKES OF 2400

Table with race details for 2.05 Bounty Financial Collectors Conditions Stakes, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.

Channel 4

2.40 NEW SPARK PLUGS SELLING STAKES 2YO 11 04.00

Table with race details for 2.40 New Spark Plugs Selling Stakes, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.

3.01 21ST LADY STAKES (Limited Race) 2YO 11 04.00

Table with race details for 3.01 21st Lady Stakes, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.

Channel 4

3.45 LADYBIRD STAKES (Limited Race) 2YO 11 04.00

Table with race details for 3.45 Ladybird Stakes, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.

Channel 4

4.15 BOUNTY FINANCIAL COLLECTORS CONDITIONS STAKES OF 2400

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Channel 4

4.00 WINDYDALE JUVENILE NOVICE HURDLE 2YO 2m 04.00

Table with race details for 4.00 Windydale Juvenile Novice Hurdle, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.



Winning collection... Ellens Lad, with Pat Eddery up, lands yesterday's Equity Financial Collections Nursery at Newmarket

Wetherby (N.H.)

Table with race details for Wetherby (N.H.), listing horses like 1.30 Phoenix Lad, 1.50 Desert Flyer, and 1.50 Desert Flyer.

Channel 4

1.20 ARTHUR STEPHENSON NOVICE HURDLE 2YO 2m 04.00

Table with race details for 1.20 Arthur Stephenson Novice Hurdle, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.

Channel 4

1.50 STANLEY RACING HANDICAP HURDLE 2m 04.00

Table with race details for 1.50 Stanley Racing Handicap Hurdle, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.

Channel 4

2.20 PETERBOROUGH GURF HURDLE 2YO 2m 04.00

Table with race details for 2.20 Peterborough Gurf Hurdle, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.

Channel 4

2.50 WEST YORKSHIRE HURDLE 2YO 2m 04.00

Table with race details for 2.50 West Yorkshire Hurdle, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.

Channel 4

3.25 CHARLIE HALL CHASE 2m 04.00

Table with race details for 3.25 Charlie Hall Chase, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.

Racing

One Man for a winning return

WITH the Flat season wearing a tired look, principal interest today centres on One Man's reappearance at Wetherby in the Charlie Hall Chase.

Richard Dunwoody rode a winner at Bangor yesterday but gave up his other two rides because he was feeling the effects of food poisoning but expects to be fit to partner One Man this afternoon.

One Man, after looking a machine in some of his early races, failed to come up to expectations in the Cheltenham Gold Cup when the demanding track and three and a quarter miles seemed beyond him.

At this stage one would not be optimistic about him doing any better in the ultimate test this season but, when it comes to getting from one side of a fence to the other, there are few finer riders than this spring-heeled grey.

Ascot (N.H.) with TV form

Table with race details for Ascot (N.H.), listing horses like 1.50 Square's Cavalry, 1.50 Desert Flyer, and 1.50 Desert Flyer.

Channel 4

1.20 NEWFORD JUVENILE NOVICE HURDLE 2YO 2m 04.00

Table with race details for 1.20 Newford Juvenile Novice Hurdle, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.

Channel 4

1.50 UNITED HOUSEHOLD INVESTMENT NOVICE HURDLE 2m 04.00

Table with race details for 1.50 United Household Investment Novice Hurdle, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.

Channel 4

2.30 UNITED HOUSE CONSTRUCTION HURDLE 2m 04.00

Table with race details for 2.30 United House Construction Hurdle, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.

Channel 4

3.05 VALLEY GARDENS NOVICE HURDLE 2m 04.00

Table with race details for 3.05 Valley Gardens Novice Hurdle, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.

Channel 4

3.40 STANLEY NOVICE CHASE 2m 04.00

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Table with race details for 3.40 Stanley Novice Chase, listing horses like Belderrig, Belderrig, and Belderrig.

Results

Newmarket

Table with race results for Newmarket, listing horses like 1.20 Palace, 1.30 Princess of Hearts, and 2.05 How Long.

Bangor

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Wetherby

Table with race results for Wetherby, listing horses like 1.30 Phoenix Lad, 1.50 Desert Flyer, and 1.50 Desert Flyer.

Ascot

Table with race results for Ascot, listing horses like 1.20 Newford Juvenile Novice Hurdle, 1.50 United Household Investment Novice Hurdle, and 2.30 United House Construction Hurdle.

Wetherby

Table with race results for Wetherby, listing horses like 1.20 Arthur Stephenson Novice Hurdle, 1.50 Stanley Racing Handicap Hurdle, and 2.20 Peterborough Gurf Hurdle.

Wetherby

Table with race results for Wetherby, listing horses like 2.50 West Yorkshire Hurdle, 3.25 Charlie Hall Chase, and 3.40 Stanley Novice Chase.

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Rugby League

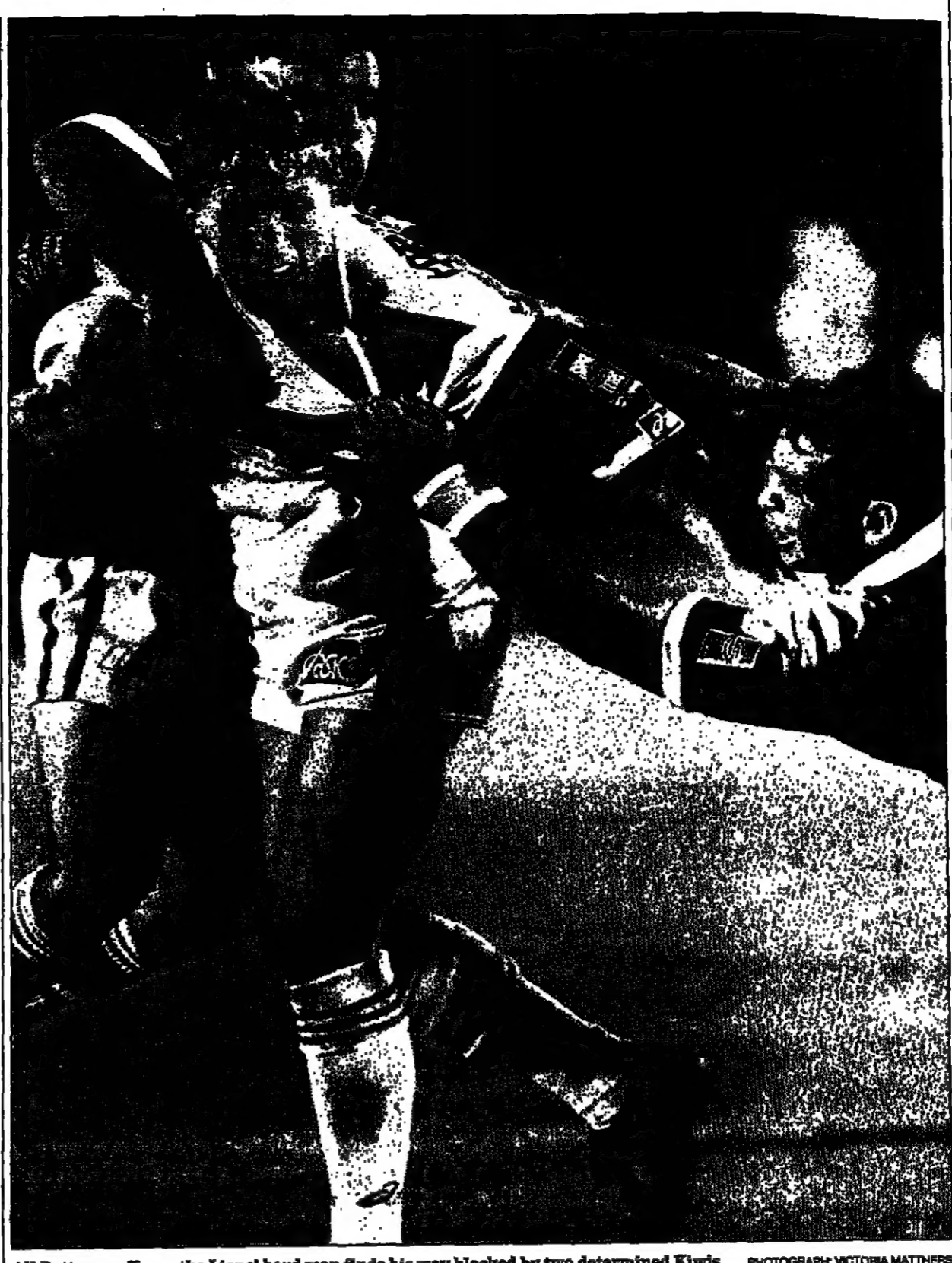
Third Test: New Zealand 32, Great Britain 12

Wounded Lions suffer whitewash

Andy Wilson in Christchurch
GREAT BRITAIN'S troubled tour of New Zealand ended in humiliation with defeat by a record 30-point margin...

the controversial sin-binning of Adrian Morley. They also led for a large part of the second Test in Palmerston North...

long pass to the unmarked Huntie. Only for Gene Ngamu to intercept and run 55 yards to the posts.



All bets are off... the Lions' hard man finds his way blocked by two determined Kiwis

New Zealand have proved under the interim leadership of captain Matthew Ridge to be a fine team, but Great Britain would back themselves to beat the Kiwis with a full-strength side, especially at home.

Ridge buried British hopes with a 67th-minute try, holding off four British players but then marring the score with a display of the less attractive side of his game as he taunted Hammond and Powell.

Powell, who announced his international retirement before winning his 33rd cap, lashed out physically at Ridge and verbally at the touch judge and the Australian referee Stephen Clark.

Larder recovers from Test mauling to land Eagles job

PHIL LARDER was yesterday appointed coach of Sheffield Eagles, hours after his Great Britain side had lost the third Test.

Great Britain's Academy side also suffered a 3-0 whitewash at the hand of the Junior Kiwis...

Great Britain's Academy side also suffered a 3-0 whitewash at the hand of the Junior Kiwis, who beat them 37-6. But the British youngsters fought back from 36-18 down in a 13-try thriller before Scott Nixon's 78th-minute drop goal proved decisive.

Warwick National Hunt programme

Table listing various horse racing events, including 1.40 Warwick National Hunt Programme, 1.10 Warwick National Hunt Programme, and 1.40 Warwick National Hunt Programme.

Weekend fixtures

Table listing various football fixtures for the weekend, including FA Cup, FA Community Shield, and other league matches.

NATIONAL LEAGUE

Table listing fixtures for the National League, including Premier Division and Second Division matches.

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE

Table listing fixtures for the Bell's Scottish League, including Premier Division and Second Division matches.

Wolverhampton all-weather card tonight

Table listing various horse racing events at Wolverhampton, including 7.00 Monday, 7.30 Tuesday, and 8.00 Wednesday.

Wolverhampton all-weather card tonight

Table listing various horse racing events at Wolverhampton, including 8.30 Wednesday, 9.30 Thursday, and 10.30 Friday.

Golf

Langer back in groove

Michael Brittan in Hong Kong
BERNHARD LANGER earned the chance to extend his record of 17 consecutive seasons with at least one victory here yesterday when he shot a second-round 67 in the Alfred Dunhill Masters.

Rugby League

Table listing various rugby league fixtures, including National Conference League, Scottish League, and other regional matches.

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Soccer

Dalglish scouting rumours at Ibrox

Patrick Glenn

KENNY DALGLISH, the eternal enigma, was at the centre of another puzzle yesterday when it was reported that he is to join Rangers as the head of a new pan-European scouting network at Ibrox.

Murray dismissed the report when he said: "I watched the second half of the match from a box. I did not speak to Kenny Dalglish and I did not offer him a job. Graham Taylor and Joe Royle were at the match. Have they also been offered jobs here?"

roles with which the former Scotland international has been associated. All previous speculation over his future, linking him with managers' jobs at Manchester City, Hibernian and Rangers themselves, has proved groundless.

Ginola homes in on Metz

KEVIN KEEGAN believes that the Uefa Cup third-round draw, which has paired Newcastle United with the French club Metz, can provide his winger David Ginola with the perfect stage to relaunch his international career.

Metz, who defeated Sporting Lisbon in the last round, believe the first leg at their Saint-Symphorien stadium will prove a 27,000 sell-out.

castle are obviously the most dangerous club we could have drawn. I have no doubt that they are future champions of England and they have great attacking potential.

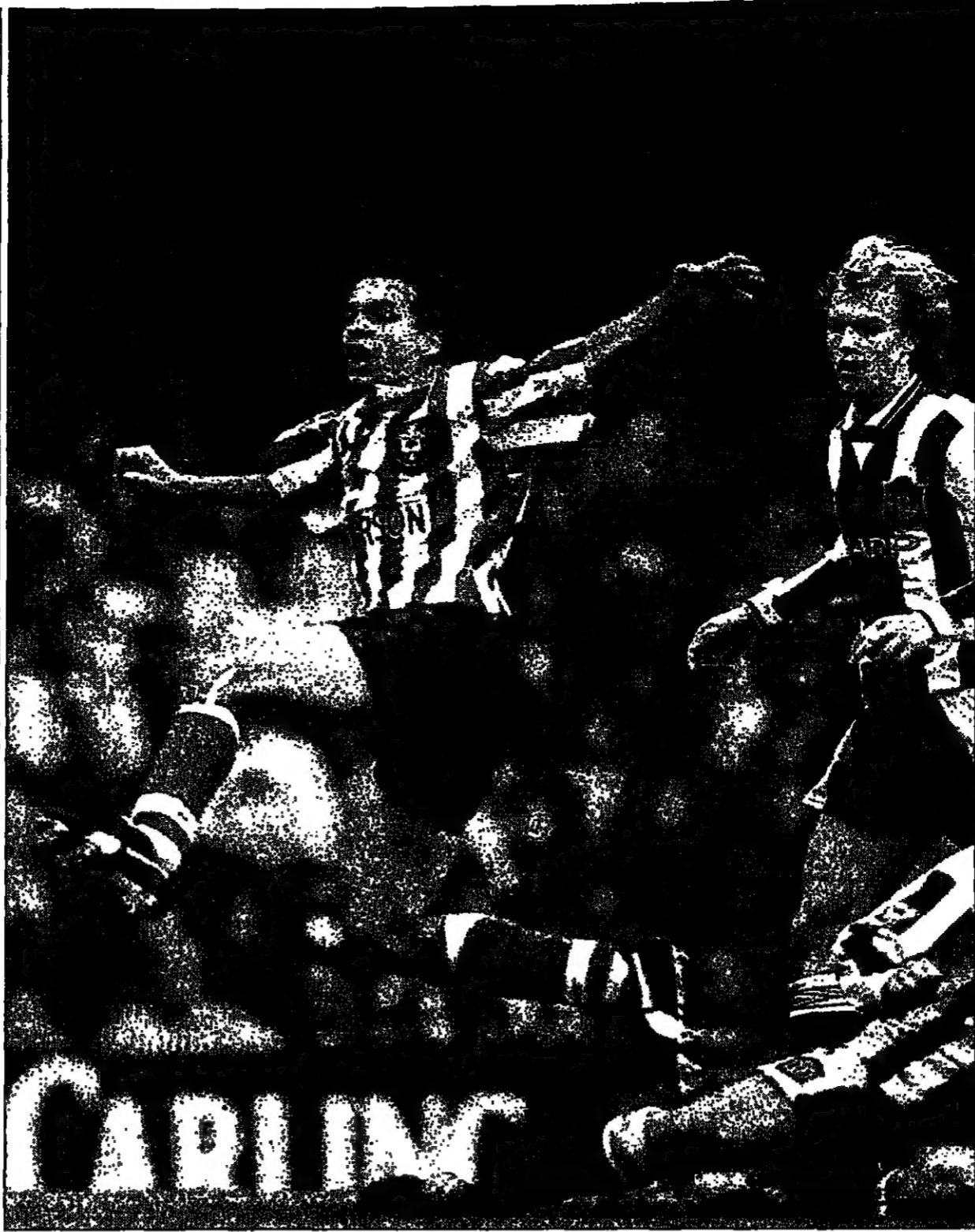
Van Hooydonk's pain a relief in Aberdeen

Patrick Glenn

ABERDEEN'S goalkeeper Nicky Walker and his fellow defenders may have felt that a persistent ache had been relieved yesterday when they learned that they are unlikely to face Pierre van Hooydonk at Celtic Park today.

when he returns from international duty. Aberdeen include the Icelandic midfielder Haraldur Ingolfsson, signed from Akranes until the end of the season, and the Under-21 international David Rowson, who yesterday signed a new four-year contract.

Wimbledon, who will go to it if they secure an eighth win in nine games at the expense of the current leaders, are still without a defender. Brian McClair, but Arsenal seeking a sixth win in seven games, are confident that Ian Wright (groin) will be fit. Nigel Winterburn (knee) should take his place in defence but the midfielder Romo Sanchez (groin) is doubtful.

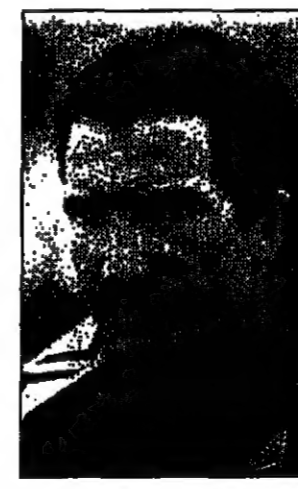


Small but perfectly in form ... the diminutive Berkovic showed both perception and power against United

The Saints bless Souness's sharp nose for a bargain

THE DELL. Even the name of the ground exudes a sleepy backwater feel, a cosy wooded hollow tucked away from the Premiership's superhighways and superior budgets.

A revitalised Southampton take their six-match unbeaten run to Hillsborough today. Martin Thorpe on a once notoriously spendthrift boss who has shown a surprising talent for parsimony



relieved genius in Southampton. "Having so many quality players around me at last has helped lift the pressure," says the scorer of nine goals this season, yesterday voted Premiership Player of the Month.

TEAM SHEET

Aston Villa v Nottingham Forest
The second leg of the FA Cup tie is set for a month as Villa travel to the home of the Reds on Saturday.

Manchester United v Chelsea
United are likely to reutilize their back with the return of Steve Bruce (knee) and the striker Neil Quinn (knee) are still sidelined.

Wimbledon v Arsenal
Wimbledon, who will go to it if they secure an eighth win in nine games at the expense of the current leaders, are still without a defender.

Advertisement for HMV Underworld CD1-CD2-12. The ad features the HMV logo and the text 'UNDERWORLD THE NEW SINGLE CD1-CD2-12 OUT NOW'. Below this, there is a section for 'PEARL'S GIRL (SHORT MIX) DICH DICH CHERRY PIE' with a small image of the artist.

TOMORROW

Blackburn v Liverpool
Colin Henry is set for a surprise return for Blackburn four weeks after a groin operation and the strikers Chris Sutton and Kevin Gallacher are ready to rejoin the squad.

Newcastle v Middlesbrough

Newcastle still have Alan Shearer and Steve Newton sidelined but otherwise the manager Kevin Keegan has a clean bill of health.

Against United Berkovic

The sharpest thorn in Alex Ferguson's backside last Saturday was Eyal Berkovic, a tiny 24-year-old Israeli international who scored two goals and set up three more in only his fourth game for Southampton.

There have been other buys

There have been other buys: two wingers, Robbie Slater from West Ham and Graham Potter from Stoke, both for £250,000, while on Thursday Souness's old Rangers goalkeeper Chris Woods joined on loan, which means there is now competition for every place in the team.

A N Other

NOMINAL proof that a fair-to-middling talent can cross the widest river, this son of Carlsberg employed as varied career as any footballer could wish for.

Grimsby split with Laws

GRIMSBY TOWN yesterday parted company with Brian Laws and put the youth coach John Cockerill in temporary charge for tomorrow's home game against Sheffield United.

Performance of the week

Performance of the week: Faustino Asprilla (Newcastle United), who consistently bamboozled Ferraraccio in the Uefa Cup on Tuesday.

Following the fire

Following the fire that destroyed part of Arsenal's training ground, a joke has been doing the rounds inside the camp: it was Arsenal.

Pour out the pity for poor United

Soccer Diary

Martin Thorpe

DOGS with two tails come nowhere near. The happier beings on the planet at the moment are the people who hate Manchester United.

Only 20 barrels were produced and most were quickly sold. The last of it went on sale at Morpeth's Tap and Spile pub - in Manchester Street.

All in all, Jeremy Hawthorn from Liverpool suggests a suitable film title for United's nightmare month would be: The Hunt For Red October.

HEARD on Radio 5

Rangers are pointless in Europe. Very true.

THERE used to be only one Ravanelli in Middlesbrough: Roger Ravanelli. Now the 36-year-old Durham University lecturer finds himself forever being asked: "Are you related?"

Roger, of Italian and French ancestry, is not, but as a Boro fan is amazed to find his namesake in his town. "Of all the European clubs he could have chosen he chose mine," he says.

He would, though, be prepared to share one trait. "I wouldn't like to be Ravanelli," he says, "but I would like his money."

THE Spaniards' fine Cockerill-a-Doddle-Do has been press-watching: "Players Spurs were 'linked with' since the last issue" two months ago: Trevor Sinclair, Robbie Rushton, Neil Ruddock, Danny Dichio, Leo Fortune-West, David Hannah, Ian Woan, Les Ferdinand, Slaven Bilic, Danny Griffen, Carl Asaba, Robert Taylor, Darren Peacock, Warren Barton, Luca Lazuardi, Pascal Simpson, Jesper Blomqvist, Petter Rudi, Anton Pfeiffer, Pascal Simsen, Andreas Andersson, Emmanuel Petit, Alain Coma, Taribo West, Christian Ziege, Florian Maurice, Graham Le Saux, Sean Dundee, Wolfgang Peller-singer - and since then there has been Enzo Scifo and Ramon Vega. Quite a team.

THE Spaniards also reveals that Ruel Fox was recently stopped for speeding. However, he was left with a caution because it was a first offence.

THE Vietnamese international Chu Van Minh has been banned for life for leading an attack on the referee at last month's domestic cup final. Mai's team went for the referee as the final whistle blew on their 3-1 defeat to Donq Thap in the televised cup final on October 6.

FOLLOWING the fire that destroyed part of Arsenal's training ground, a joke has been doing the rounds inside the camp: it was Arsenal.

Vertical advertisement on the right edge of the page. It includes text like 'Gooch se...', 'his cap a...', 'my's cha...', 'Bleeper beat...', 'by Gustafssco...', and 'Football...'. There is also a small logo at the bottom.

Cricket

Gooch sets his cap at Illy's chair

Mike Selvey

GRAHAM GOOCH has made himself favourite to succeed Raymond Illingworth as chairman of England selectors by announcing that he would give up his playing career...

selectors. I don't think it is possible both to be a player and serve as chairman. Richard Little, media relations officer for the Test and County Cricket Board, admitted that Gooch would certainly be a strong candidate...



Dale of the Valleys... McIntosh has settled so well in Wales that he may yet appear in the scarlet jersey this season

All hail the Chief of Sardis Road

Frank Keating meets Dale McIntosh, the No. 8 from King Country and a key figure in Pontypridd's European Cup success

PONTYPRIDD are confidently braced for their daunting day in Dax. The refreshingly game club from the Valleys has surprised itself with striking shows in this still nascent tournament of nations...

One flew over the cuckoo's nest. There is nothing remotely birdlike, however, about McIntosh's tackling on the hoof. As the match against Bath ran its rancorous, desperate course, and as the English champions furiously raised their game yet again...

glamour east and west — it has always been the most formidable of "family" clubs. Famous, too, for back-row men: Tom David's finger-wagging leadership thrillingly inspired Joe Smith's grand teams of the 1970s...

Four wickets for defiant Giles

ASHLEY GILES defied the heat in Tamworth to underline his Test credentials and prevent a New South Wales XI from establishing a commanding first-innings lead over England A on the second day of their four-match Test...

Bleeper beaten by Gustafsson

MAGNUS Gustafsson beat the former Olympic champion Marc Rosset 2-0, 6-3, 6-2 here yesterday to reach the semi-finals of the Paris Open. It was a difficult match for the level-headed Swede, who also had to overcome the constant aggravation of an electronic network monitor...

Results

Table listing various sports results including Soccer, Rugby League, Golf, Chess, and Snooker.

Sport in brief

Boxing: Lennox Lewis's fight with Oliver McCall for the vacant WBC heavyweight title has been moved for January 12 in Nashville... Golf: Laura Davies was four shots off the lead after the first round of the Toray Japan Queens Cup in Azuma...

Snooker

Belgium in Irish Waterloo: The Benelux countries were the first in mainland Europe to take to snooker and Belgium yesterday sprang the first major upset in the World Cup by taking the final three frames to beat the No. 4 seeds Northern Ireland 5-4...

1996-7 Season PREMIERSHIP FOOTBALL Tickets available for various clubs BOOK TICKETS NOW 0171 413 3355

Rugby Union Bath buoyed by Mendez

Robert Armstrong

BATH's much-heralded signing of Argentina's Paul Ackford at Twickenham could hardly have come at a more timely moment in their quest for the Heineken European Cup. The 24-year-old, who once famously pole-axed England's Paul Ackford at Twickenham, will bring a wealth of experience from South African rugby to bear on the fledgling European competition...

Bristol gifted £1 million

BRISTOL have been bailed out of financial trouble by a £1 million donation from the club director of rugby Darryll Jones and walked out when Neath's committee gave his superior their full backing. Neath will reach the quarter-finals of the European Cup only in the highly unlikely event of Harlequins being thrashed by Caledonia today...



Bright days at the Dell The spending power of Souness 22



One eye on Lord's Gooch makes a play for the top job 23

The Guardian sport

SOCCER

'I expect high standards. I also accept that people are human. Paul knows he has to change in the long term. My aim is to do nothing in the short term that might turn out to be unhelpful in the future.'

David Lacey on Glenn Hoddle's determination to offer a final chance of absolution to Paul Gascoigne



Forgiving if not forgetting... Glenn Hoddle outlines his squad and the reasons for selecting them at yesterday's media assembly TOM JENKINS

Faith, charity... and hope

GLENN HODDLE has invited Paul Gascoigne to join him on the road to the Caucasus in the hope that he can set the player on the straight and narrow. Hoddle's decision to retain Gascoigne in the England squad after newspaper allegations of wife-beating is worryingly paved with good intentions. For the moment, however, Gaza is heading where more hellish than Thelisi, where England meet Georgia in a World Cup qualifying match a week today. Yesterday Hoddle defended the retention of Gascoigne, which will intensify the wrath of women's groups, on the grounds that omitting him would have been too easy. He decided to keep him in, he explained, after several talks with the player and after sitting in on one of Gascoigne's counselling sessions.

"I believe I now have a clear understanding of the problems he and his family are experiencing," Hoddle said. "I have been deeply impressed by his determination to address his problems, and the progress he has already made. I believe that with my help, and that of counselling, we can guide and help him and his family to go further. "At no time have I, or would

I, condone what Paul has done," Hoddle continued. "I expect high standards. I also accept that people are human. Paul knows he has to change in the long term. My aim is to do nothing in the short term that might turn out to be unhelpful in the future." Hoddle set out his case in a prepared statement and was backed by a similar joint statement from the FA's chairman Keith Wiseman and its chief executive Graham Kelly. When pressed to expand on his comments he stuck to the party line. "I think we all know Paul needed some sort of help," he explained. "And he will need it long after the Georgia game. Only time will tell whether people will be able to help him. It's going to be down to Paul. But you can't cast him aside. I just want him to be given an opportunity similar to the one Paul Merson has had."

Both Merson, who has had rehabilitation treatment for drink, drug and gambling problems, and Tony Adams, his Arsenal captain who recently admitted to being an alcoholic, are in the squad. "Paul Gascoigne has many problems," said Hoddle. "It's not just about getting over this one. I'm trying to give him the opportunity to learn from the mistakes he has made. I've already seen a change in him. He knows he's got to change." Hoddle refused to be specific about Gascoigne's domestic difficulties. "Much of what I have learnt has to remain private," he said. "I'm aware of much that is not, and should not, be public knowledge." Asked about Gascoigne's drinking, he admitted that "there is a slight problem there" but did not consider it a major issue. Some have said that as a practising Christian Hoddle

should have had no truck with an alleged wife-batterer. Hoddle's response was that Jesus taught forgiveness and that people could change. "Saul was one," he added. At the moment the link between the Pauls of Tarsus and Gooch seems a little tenuous, but of all the England managers and coaches who have had to cope with Gascoigne Hoddle has shown a rare sensitivity. Whether it will mean anything in the long run, Gaza only knows. England have, after all, been this way before. Graham Taylor called upon the Almighty to look after Gascoigne but his plea went unanswered. Later Taylor made an oblique reference to Gascoigne's "retelling habits" and reaped a whirlwind. Match fitness is fundamental to the debate about Gascoigne's future as an international, and a lack of it may undo him in the end. Hoddle

is aware of this — "you have to get your body right and look after yourself when you are 29 or 30" — and so was Taylor: "There comes a time when you have to take responsibility for yourself. You can't allow your fitness to go." And when Taylor said that Gascoigne was 25. This week the Gascoigne debate will concern the likelihood of Hoddle keeping him in the England team. Rightly or wrongly Hoddle is less likely to drop him now than he would have been a fortnight ago. With Alan Shearer and Gary Pallister recovering from operations, Adams may well return as centre-half and captain. In Shearer's absence, another Arsenal player, Ian Wright, has been recalled as attacking cover.

More soccer, page 22

The squad

- WORLD CUP GROUP TWO
Sunderland (Arsenal), Walker (Tottenham), James (Liverpool)
G. Neville (Man Utd), Pearce (Notm Forest), M. McDonald (Everton), Southgate (Aston Villa), Adams (Arsenal), Gascoigne (Tottenham), Southee (Liverpool)
I. Wright (Aston Villa), Shearer (Rangers), Beckham (Man Utd), Westhammar (Liverpool), Platt (Aston Villa), Barry (Newcastle), Le Tissier (Southampton), Barmby (Everton)
Pardoll (Newcastle), Sheenings (Tottenham), Fowler (Liverpool), Wright, Merson (Aston Villa)

Game's image takes a new battering

Richard Williams on a decision that will bring down a storm on the England camp

IF Joe Public's wife had left a hotel with bruises and bandages, Glenn Hoddle said yesterday, and if there had been no police involvement in the affair, Joe wouldn't have got the sack from his job. Why then should the same latitude not be extended to Paul Gascoigne? Only a double-dyed cynic would suggest that Gascoigne's inclusion in the squad for next week's match in Georgia, a fortnight after pictures of his apparently battered wife appeared on the front page of the Daily Mirror, had less to do with the manager's belief in Christian forgiveness than with the pressing need for a good World Cup result. But the fact remains that there will be an outcry against Hoddle's decision to allow Gascoigne the chance to reform himself while remaining an England player. Hoddle chose to make a show of amusement when it was suggested to him yesterday that, given his posi-

tion, his pronouncements probably have more effect on the nation's moral health than those of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But the fact remains that the slight of the bruised Sheryl Gascoigne coincided with the onset of a national debate about public and private morality and Hoddle's decision on the player's immediate future was always going to bear a heavier load than would be proper were his inclusion in the team merely a matter of form and fitness. To the likes of Helena Kennedy, Julie Burchill, Suzanne Moore and women's rights groups up and down the country, the solution was obvious: kick him out, thereby setting an example to macho sportsmen. Hoddle's explanation of his decision to opt for charity is unlikely to do much more than feed their belief in a male conspiracy. "I'm aware of the feeling on this issue," he said. "The word 'example' is important here. Everyone's



Gascoigne... last chance

got a different interpretation of what an example should be all about. You can have a quick example, with punishment, which would be to cast him out and discard him now. But I'm hoping that he can change. The aim is to make him into a role model. What a great example that would be to children and young people. This way's the tough way. The easy way was to chuck him out." It seems certain that the argument between Mr and Mrs Gascoigne was not as straightforward as the first tabloid accounts made it appear. Such things never

are. And only a full knowledge of the details surrounding the events at the Gleneagles Hotel, Hoddle suggested, had allowed him to reach his conclusion. "These are very private things," he said. "They're too private to talk about. I could only make the decision by sitting in on some of the meetings and discussions for many hours with Paul. If I'd found that the details were so negative, he wouldn't have stayed in the squad. This had to come from my heart, not my head. My head tells me, cast him out. But I know the details, I've seen the reaction from Paul, and I'm saying, yes, he can change." While monitoring some of Gascoigne's counselling sessions over the past fortnight, and talking in depth to the player about his problems, Hoddle had become convinced of his sincerity. "Within these two weeks he's made some positive steps. I've seen the change in him and I want it to continue. But it's not about the next game. He'll need to be looked after and guided and helped long after Georgia."

The effect of alcohol was a factor, although apparently not the cause of the problem. "There's a slight problem there," Hoddle said, "but it's not the major issue." To persuade Gascoigne to stop drinking, however, might be to remove the catalyst that turns an argument into a fist fight; in that respect he was certainly not wrong. Hoddle pointed to the example of Paul Merson, another member of his squad, who had been granted time and forgiveness. "If he'd been cast aside, I'm not so sure he'd been in such a good state of mind or that his football would be where it is now. He's not over the problem completely. He knows that. But he's a long way further down the line to overcoming it. There's a lesson there." But there must be a limit to forgiveness, and on the face of it — or, rather, on the face of his wife — Paul Gascoigne exceeded it at Gleneagles. So now, curiously, it is the manager who is being given a chance, whose judgment is being taken on trust as he attempts to save his delinquent player's soul.

Terrace talk and the right to reply



David Lacey

FOOTBALL is undergoing one of its periodic bouts of silliness between fans and players. Each incident is more absurd than the last. This week it was reported that the Hampshire constabulary was looking into complaints by Southampton supporters that Manchester United's David Beckham had bared his bottom during Saturday's match at The Dell. One spectator claimed that Beckham had hitched his shorts "as high as they would go". Beckham has denied it. Neil Lennon, a Leicester City midfielder, and Dean Kieley, the Bury goalkeeper, were also under investigation by police after being accused of making insulting gestures to the respective fans of Newcastle United and Bristol Rovers. Again, both players have rejected the allegations. Kieley appears to have done nothing more than cup his ears to the taunts of opposing supporters. Political correctness being what it is, however, he could be in danger of being hauled up before the FA disciplinary committee for mocking the aurally challenged. It is well known of course that the modern football fan, far from sharing the monocular outlook of Polyphemus or the fickleness of Caligula's thumb, is a sensitive soul. A lone voice at Highbury might bellow an obscenity about Chelsea during the minute's silence for Matthew Harding, and a Chelsea fan might inform an interviewer that the best way to mark Harding's passing would be to "beat the Yids" when Tottenham visited Stamford Bridge. Otherwise your average English supporter is PC personified, racially impeccable and totally incapable of singing "one Quasimodo, there's only one Quasimodo" at round-shouldered opponents. The latest burst of spectator

indignation involves Mark Bosnich reacting to abuse from Spurs fans regarding his foul, two seasons earlier, on Jürgen Klinsmann by giving a Nazi salute. Given Tottenham's large Jewish following this was a peculiar thing to do, although the sort of people who condemned Bosnich bear a remarkable similarity to those who defended Eric Cantona when he aimed a kung-fu kick at his Crystal Palace tormentor. Tricky business, this PC. In simpler times a player might drop his shorts to crowds who were giving him a hard time, everybody would have a laugh, the FA would hand out a small fine and that would be it. David Gaskell, a Manchester United goalkeeper, and Sammy Nelson, an Arsenal defender, are among those who have bared all for posterity. Things started to get more serious when footballers began to make the signs to the fans, the defence being that the accused were reminding the opposition of the score. Funny though, it always seemed to be two-nil. SOMEHOW cocking a snook at or making racist gestures with fingers and thumb does not quite fit into this category. And nobody has spat at the punters lately, after the manner of Ian Wright at Oldham in 1981, or Cantona at Leeds in 1986. Thankfully, Paul Tait's idea of enlivening an Auto Windscreens Shield final by wearing a T-shirt under his Birmingham City strip bearing an obscene slogan concerning Aston Villa never caught on. Paul Gascoigne's imitation of an Orange parade flautist during a Rangers game was crass, but then one always did suspect that at the ball of Kirilmiur Gazza was the one swinging from the chandelier whistling at the crowd. Players should be allowed an acceptable degree of reaction to crowd taunts. Words, after all, can hurt. In the Philip Brighton's outside-left was Dennis Gordon, who was tonorially challenged. A reporter heard a fan shout "come on, Baldy", assumed it was his nickname, and printed it. Gordon was hurt. The reporter said he thought he had been dubbed Baldy after a character in the Hotspur, Baldy Hogan. "Nonsense," said Gordon, "but I don't mind being called Flash."

Guardian COLLINS Crossword 20,800

A copy of the Collins English Dictionary will be sent to the first five correct entries drawn. Entries to Guardian Crossword No 20,800, P.O. Box 315, Mitcham, Surrey, CR4 2AX, by first post on Friday, November 1, and winners in the Guardian on Monday, November 11.

Collins crossword puzzle grid with clues and a name/address form.

- Down
2 Start to speak about one spirit (5)
3 Like N, maybe going to bat, born with defect (5)
4 Relation in formation of ozone may be a parasite (7)
5 River home for fellow with a big yawn (7)
6 The French forsaking a relation, ex-naval type, with indifference (9)
7 Object to change of N (5)
8 Pa, formerly a professional, to take part in centre of triumph (13)
9 Point to cover a motorway maxim: I didn't really mean that (4,2,1,5)
15 During "A Passage to New Zealand" a complaint is made (9)
17 Girl was up in revolt at N with a broomslick? (8)
19 No sign of 26 with information to go with quartz (7)
20 N of pogrom, very clear (7)
22 Athenian doctor is in the money (5)
23 He hangs in shades the orange bright like golden lamps in a — N (Marvell) (5)

Crossword solution grid with letters filled in.

You are a master of the broad and sweeping generalisation. We are asked to believe that everyone, be they Jews, aborigines, Indians, churchmen, trade unionists, even the Prince of Wales, is in agreement with your views — an intellectual promiscuity one can only describe as breathtaking. Head to head: Stanley Kalms replies to Anita Roddick

The Week page 16

Large vertical advertisement on the right edge of the page, partially cut off, mentioning 'Clinto lead s' and 'Murdoch'.